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NOTES AND NEWS.

LIBRARY HOURS AND SERVICE.

MODIFICATIONS in the hours during which the library is open to readers have been rendered necessary on account of the restrictions of lighting imposed under the provisions of the Air-Raid Precautions.

We shall be compelled to suspend the two open evenings (Tuesday and Friday), when the library, hitherto, has been open to readers until nine o'clock, and to close the building at six o'clock, except on Saturday, when the closing hour remains at two o'clock.

In the case of the Public Evening Lectures, a short series of which has been arranged each session for the past thirty-eight years, including even the years of the Great War, it has been decided, on account of the lighting restrictions, to cancel the evening lectures, and in substitution to arrange an afternoon series to commence at three o'clock, so as to be concluded by four o'clock.

Many thousands of the library's most precious manuscripts and printed books have been placed in safety in the extensive fire-proof strong-rooms with which the library was originally equipped. Each of these stored treasures, however, is readily available, should it be needed for purposes of research.

Gas-proof chambers have been equipped in the basement for the safety of staff and readers, should an air raid occur during the library hours.

Founders' day was commemorated at the University of Manchester on Wednesday, the 17th of May, in the Whitworth Hall, when the customary ceremonial was observed, and honorary

degrees were conferred upon: the American Ambassador, Mr. Joseph Patrick Kennedy; Mr. Harold Beresford Butler, Warden of Nuffield College; Sir Christopher T. Needham, Chairman of the Council of Manchester University; Mr. Eric Robertson Dodds, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford University; and Mr. Charles Galton Darwin, Director of the National Physical Laboratory.

COMMEMORATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

In opening the proceedings the Chancellor, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, said that on the occasion of the Founders' day celebrations last year he referred to the efforts then being made by the University to raise an adequate sum for the re-equipment and modernization of departments essential to its welfare. He was glad to say that during the past twelve months these efforts had been uninterruptedly pursued, and they had now reached a stage at which little more than a remnant remained to be collected, and he greatly hoped that the year 1939 would see the complete fulfilment of their ambitions. He took this opportunity of thanking all those who had worked so faithfully towards this great objective.

He was glad to see so many representatives of our publicly elected authorities present, and he thought it was worth stating publicly that during the brief years that the Vice-Chancellor had presided over the University the increase in grants received by the University from local authorities now amounted to no less than £10,000 a year. That was a tangible measure of appreciation. And yet, while with these good results they were always looking forward to fresh activities, they now had to contemplate the possibility that the political situation might cause interruption in the normal flow and conduct of university affairs.

"The one essential thing seems to be," he continued, "that study should be continuous and that it should proceed along a well-ascertained and carefully defined ratio of progress. But now political conditions bring us into the realm of apprehension, and while we are all more than fully conscious of the duties of learning, I sometimes wonder if our universities are sufficiently alive to the applications of learning. Now all experience of human life should be attributable and applicable to learning.

"Twenty-five years ago we had some experience of the political difficulties which brought military service to the very doors of our University. To-day we have to contemplate the same difficulty in principle, but perhaps more specific and direct in its application. I express a hope that we shall never assume that any experience in human life and affairs must necessarily be injurious to learning. I believe myself even that six months' military discipline and six months of Army rations may help to combine the lessons of experience with the applications of science and of art. I feel confident that our society will face these new difficulties with courage and with resource."

The honorary graduands were presented to the Chancellor by Professor T. W. Manson in the following terms :—

Mr. HAROLD BERESFORD BUTLER (Doctor of Laws) :

"I present to you an argument in favour of the hypothesis that a classical education does not necessarily unfit its recipient for the attainment of great eminence in other fields, a scholar of distinction in 'humane letters' who has gained still greater glory in the larger school of human affairs. In pre-war Oxford a first in Greats paved the way to one of the more covetable fellowships ; but in 1907 the charm of Oxford had to give way before the rival blandishments of H.M. Local Government Board. Thus began a long career of public service to this country, continued in the Home Office, the Foreign Office, and the Ministry of Labour, leading eventually to still wider responsibilities as Deputy Director and, later, Director of the International Labour Office in Geneva.

"Now in the plenitude of his powers he has been brought back to Oxford as the first Warden of Nuffield College, to enjoy what is optimistically called 'the learned leisure of Heads of Houses'. This leisure, if it really exists, may provide the opportunity to make further contributions towards the solution of a problem on which he has worked diligently already—the tragic problem of the enforced leisure of so many heads of other and humbler houses.

"We wish him well in his new tasks, and we find the happiest augury for the future of Nuffield College in the past record of its Warden."

Mr. Joseph Patrick Kennedy (Doctor of Laws):

"I present to you an ambassador whose excellency had already been tested and proved in other spheres before he was called to undertake his present arduous and responsible task. As a young graduate of Harvard University he found employment in banking and finance. There, save for occasional excursions into shipbuilding and motion pictures, he remained for a quarter of a century, developing an outstanding skill and judgment in the practical handling of those high problems whose complete theoretical solution is known only to a few students of economics, and those all in their first year at the subject.

In 1938 he was summoned to turn his energies and abilities into new channels. If our forefathers had been as wise before the event as we are after it, he might have become High Commissioner for the Dominion of New England. As it is he is the Ambassador of the United States of America, the latest of a long line of distinguished representatives of a great and friendly nation, himself adding new distinction to his office in times of almost unparalleled strain and difficulty.

On the golf course he has learned the diplomatic virtues of unwearying patience and perseverance in untoward and depressing circumstances, and of calm and moderate speech even under intolerable provocations. And in the Embassy he has—surely an invaluable asset—an adequate supply of olive branches.

Our doctorate is a token both of our high regard and of our sincere wish that his labours may promote justice, freedom, and peace.

Sir Christopher T. Needham (Doctor of Laws):

I present to you, arrayed in unfamiliar splendour, a familiar and well-loved figure, one of the most assiduous students in this University. Ever since he took his first degree, in Queen Victoria's jubilee year, he has been engaged in researches of an elaborate and far-reaching kind, involving the most various and long-continued practical work in many fields; in the University as chairman of the Union, chairman of Convocation, treasurer of the University, and chairman of Council; in the city and county as a worker for hospitals, lads' clubs, playing-fields; in

the life of the nation as member of Parliament, and by service on Government Committees and Royal Commissions.

All these manifold labours are relevant to the main problem of his research, which is how to secure the greatest possible prosperity, happiness, and usefulness for this county and city, and in particular for this University. He has been working at it for more than half a century and he is not finished yet.

It has been decided with unanimity and enthusiasm that the work already accomplished is fully worthy of the doctorate, and, in conferring it, we pay grateful and affectionate tribute to one whose faith in the University has never faltered, whose devotion to its highest interests has never grown cold.

Mr. ERIC ROBERTSON DODDS (Doctor of Letters). :

A classical scholar for whom classical scholarship involves, more than the ability to conduct pedantic post-mortems on the remains of Greek and Roman culture, a certain kindred and affinity with the spirit that produced the ancient masterpieces.

In early youth he displayed to some purpose the true Hellenic passion for intellectual freedom and the following of the argument, whatever the conclusion to which it may lead. The adventurous and pioneering spirit has marked all his work as a scholar. Not content to rehash the old familiar comments on old and well-thumbed texts, he embarked on the exploration of that obscure and little-frequented area of Greek speculation which is the spiritual home of Plotinus, Iamblichus, and Proclus. His work in this field issued in the publication of the two volumes of " Select Passages Illustrative of Neoplatonism " and his masterly edition of " Proclus' Elements of Theology ".

Nor has academic recognition lagged behind scholarly achievement, witness the successive appointments, first as Lecturer in Classics at Reading, then as Professor of Greek at Birmingham, and finally as Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford.

To-day we welcome to our midst a scholar, poet, and philosopher whose work commands our warmest admiration and encourages our highest hopes.

Mr. CHARLES GALTON DARWIN (Doctor of Science):

In presenting to you this distinguished scion of a world-famous

scientific house, it would doubtless be superfluous to discourse at length on the subject of heredity, but some indication of the importance of environment may not be out of place. For this University can take legitimate pride and pleasure in the fact that it was here that he held his first teaching post as Reader in Mathematical Physics ; that here, under the benignant and inspiring influence of Rutherford and Lamb and Moseley, his youthful genius began to bud and blossom. From that flying start he pursued his swift-winged course, by way of Christ's College, Cambridge, to the Tait Chair of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, then back to Cambridge as Master of Christ's ; and now to the Directorship of the National Physical Laboratory.

In 1935 he was awarded a Royal Medal by the Royal Society for his distinguished researches in mathematical physics, especially quantum theory, optics, and statistical mechanics. Behind all this, to the non-specialist as impressive as it is incomprehensible, there surely goes on some deep and searching diagnosis, and some day he may be able to tell us what really is the matter with matter.

Here, on the scene of his earliest labours and successes, the University congratulates him on all that he has achieved in the years between, and wishes him good success in all that he will yet undertake for the advancement of science.

In acknowledging the honours conferred upon himself and his fellow graduates, Dr. Kennedy said :

On behalf of my fellow honorary graduates, I voice deep-felt appreciation of the honour bestowed upon us by your University. But it is with some misgivings that I face the responsibility of acting as spokesman for such a distinguished gathering and before so august an assemblage. For a long time, as an outsider, I have admired your city. To-day—as a son by adoption of its great University—I may claim the pride of kinship. Last November I was the guest here of the Chamber of Commerce. I visited Manchester in the normal atmosphere of business. Now, with some diffidence, I enter the stratosphere of intellect.

Yet those so different atmospheres, of business and culture, are the very texture of the air which you breathe to-day. The

life and the looms of Manchester carry many threads. Your city weaves happily together industry and the arts. One of your city's newspaper editors even went so far as to grow poetic about mercantile conditions. He wrote as follows:

> At this time all fine goods of cotton sell low,
> And sales, even thus, are provokingly slow.
> The hard-working workman, of course, is quite poor,
> And comfort a stranger becomes to his door.
> But Metropolitan papers say trade has increased,
> That each day at Manchester is a great feast—
> That profits are high—that sales are quite brisk—
> And that business is done now with very slight risk.
> This inflames inflammation and—however 'twas meant—
> Provokes the works classes and spreads discontent.
> And not only poor folks take issue with fate,
> For dealers in cotton this year find—too late—
> That the odds on all cotton fluctuations of price
> Will hold good in gambling—as well as in dice.

These words seem apt, but I might remark that the editor of the *Manchester Herald* wrote them some little time ago; to be exact, in 1819. He sang, too, of an important event in Manchester history three hundred years earlier:

> Let us turn to the Bishop who founded the school,
> Who determined—his heart with benevolence fraught—
> That Lancashire lads should the classics be taught.
> He founded a school, into boys' heads to hammer
> The eight parts of speech and a knowledge of grammar.
> And for those who a surplus of knowledge might seek
> He further left orders to teach the boys Greek.

"That Grammar School is now, I understand, the largest in the United Kingdom. It is clear that learning has long been respected in Lancashire.

"Our world to-day is in a sorry muddle. Life seems to change for us so fast that, inevitably, doubts are bred, not only of old moral standards but also of educational concepts. People become sceptical about the contribution of our universities to the solution of our multiplying problems. They tend to question the value in our present scheme of things of traditional university procedure. They grow suspicious. And understandably. It seems to me that discussions of education are too often littered

with high-sounding phrases, which glibly hide a multitude of half-baked theories and uncertainties. It is always easier to deal in words rather than in facts. Yet the latter are the true materials with which universities should build.

"Is higher education doing its bit to-day? Or has it, in fact, become out-moded, obsolete? Made panicky by world calamities, dissatisfied with conditions as they are, we find our tendency is to discard old and tried things for anything new in the hope of finding relief in change. We must not too hastily dismiss our university for everything except intolerance—and sympathetic understanding of all things except wilful ignorance. They can never reach that understanding if they are swayed by the demands of those who insist that their view is the only view.

"Universities, too, are beset with dangers. One comes from within. All of us have been existing for some time now under a cloud of foreboding and fear. The impact of world tragedies can shake our deepest personal beliefs—if we let them. Our educators may be so shaken. They cannot, nor should they, ignore political issues and troubles of the day—or be deaf to the chorus of dismay and despair rising in the world. But education and future generations will suffer if they allow their efforts to become the mere expression of their daily worries.

"Some educators may begin to regard education as simply one means of solving the transient problems of passing days. But our universities—seeing, hearing, and comprehending—must avoid that mistake, for true scholarship may easily be smothered by utility. Science faces the ever-present danger of misuse. If it is largely devoted to waging more devastating warfare, to supplying new machineries of destruction, then science is debased, for it is criminal waste of man's enormous and God-given powers of thought and action.

"Other dangers threaten the integrity of the university. But universities are very old. They have outlasted empires and emperors. They will not die. For what, then, shall they stand to-day? Are the ancient and eternal verities no longer of value to mankind? With unshaken conviction and confidence I claim that they are of eternal value. Universities have served the world well. They will continue to do so. They will con-

tinue to find and perpetuate those ideas and ideals which are of most consequence for the human race.

"That is their task, and they can help us in many ways. They can guide us away from the error of confusing authority with autocracy. They can serve the State—but only through serving the welfare of its citizens, not as mere subjects of that State but as free men. By clarifying the past universities enable us to understand the present. By educating us to recognize the present truth they give us a key to the problems of the future.

"The more complicated our life becomes, the more uncertain the future appears, then that much more we need to be well and strongly grounded in new forms of government. In the same manner, seeing no obvious benefits accrued from established forms of education, they may demand new forms, new theories, and new standards in teaching.

"The task of universities has been throughout their existence to satisfy two types of curiosity. One that says, I want to know because—well, because I was just wondering. . . . The other, termed aptly cash-and-carry curiosity, says, I want to know in order to get a licence to pull teeth and so extract fees to buy food to give me strength to pull more teeth and obtain more money—and so on and so on *ad infinitum*.

"This latter curiosity is quite generally admired as ambition, the former usually derided as idle dreaming. Yet that desire to find out which is unencumbered by any desire for a practical cash return has given us many of civilization's great blessings. It gives us that common sense in an uncommon degree which is commonly called wisdom.

"And universities seek wisdom. Seeking it, they explore systematically and patiently the infinities of the unknown. In doing so they follow three main trails. They dig into the past, which is history in many forms. They analyse the present, which is economics, government, and the behaviour of the living man. They reach forward into the future, which is the endless research of science.

"What has all this exploration brought us? Has it actually advanced civilization, made our world a more comfortable place in which to live? As we look about us in this twentieth century

we may well feel grave doubts. Out of the historical past have come many discoveries. But, regrettably, some of them have been used to halt—or, at least, delay—the humanitarian advance of civilization.

"In their study of present-day economies and political trends universities have as yet found no adequate cure for our ills. In spite of age-long research and educational striving the foundations of the world in which we live seem neither firm nor permanent. Science, with its contributions to industry, has apparently dislocated the economic system by which man lives. How many times has he cried, in despair, 'Destroy the machines!'

"If we draw up a balance-sheet for education, we may be dissatisfied with the record of profit and loss. It may seem that mankind's gains from this enterprise are not as great as they should be.

"The answer is, I believe, that we have learned things too fast and have neglected to learn—or are learning too slowly—the way to use those things. We have not yet discovered the way to make them work most efficiently for the good of all mankind. The automobile is a blessing to the human race; yet in untrained hands or with careless guidance it becomes a menace, an engine of destruction. In similar fashion, education may become a danger to the public welfare if we are not wisely schooled to make the best use of its power, or if it is guided by erratic or unscrupulous hands.

"Universities, nevertheless, must preserve complete freedom. It is a tradition of the highest scholarship to pursue knowledge and truth, regardless of where that pursuit may lead. But only by their unquestioned integrity can universities prove themselves worthy of this privilege of being free. Universities must have freedom, both from external pressure or control and from internal pressure of selfishness and bias and dishonest thinking.

"Some who clamour loudest for freedom want it for themselves, but would deny it to others who do not think exactly as they do. Not so our universities. They have, and must have always, tolerance."

THE FINAL DEGREE CEREMONY AT THE UNIVERSITY.

The final Degree Ceremony of the University of Manchester which took place in the Whitworth Hall on the 7th of July was presided over by the Vice-Chancellor, Professor J. S. B. Stopford, F.R.S.

In the course of his address to the Congregation, Professor Stopford said that the year now drawing to a close had been a busy one and in many ways a difficult one. The University had not escaped the effects of international tension, and much time, thought, and money had been expended on the provision of protection for their buildings and for those who would occupy them in the event of war. Such excellent progress had been made in this matter that it would be possible to put the whole scheme for protection in hand at short notice should the need occur. "Although prepared, we earnestly hope that the emergency will never arise," he added.

Much anxiety had also been experienced in regard to the possible effects of the Military Training Act upon university education, but happily they did not seem to be so serious as was at one time feared. In the national interest it had been decided that full-time students already in a university should be allowed to continue the course for which they had registered and which had been approved by their particular university. In the future students who desired to enter a university would, under certain conditions, be given the opportunity to choose whether they would postpone or anticipate their liability to military service.

"It is gratifying to report," the Vice-Chancellor continued, "that in spite of these difficulties and uncertainties teaching and research have not suffered and the year has been one of steady progress and development. In the Faculty of Arts, which is the faculty represented at this ceremony, I draw attention to two developments which I feel are of particular interest. The first is the scheme for honours in combined subjects, which will serve as an alternative to the more specialized honours schools. We believe that this will prove as successful and as useful as the scheme for general honours has done which was instituted by the Faculty of Science some years ago.

"The second development in the Faculty of Arts to which I would refer is the introduction of music to a considerable extent

as one of the subjects which may be taken for the ordinary degree of Bachelor of Arts. This will probably be of interest to the schools, and certainly, we think, of interest to some who are entering the teaching profession."

The Vice-Chancellor said he had to report the retirement of Professor POPE, the first woman to be a professor in that university. In a relatively short time, he said, she had done a really great work for the University as a whole, as well as for the Faculty of Arts, and they all realised they were losing the services of a very distinguished scholar as well as a most popular colleague. She had their best wishes for the future and they were all delighted recently to hear that the University of Bordeaux had recognized her contributions to knowledge by the conferment of an honorary degree. He was informed that it was the first time a French university had conferred an honorary doctorate on a woman.

The Vice-Chancellor also referred to the difficulties created in the University by the international situation, and continued: "As many as a hundred and eighty members of the teaching staff have undertaken training for duties in connection with air-raid precautions within the University, and in consequence I have had the unusual sight of members of the teaching staff attending courses of lectures and submitting themselves to examination in order to qualify as air-raid wardens, first-aid workers, and firemen. I have not been informed precisely of the results of these examinations, but I am given to understand that the candidates acquitted themselves with credit, although 100 per cent. did not always pass.

"I should also like to express my satisfaction for the way in which the students, in face of difficulties and uncertainties, particularly in regard to the Military Training Act, have continued with their studies.

"I am happy to report also that, in spite of difficulties, the year has been one of steady progress, and we have been able to continue with our building programme so far according to plan. There is every reason to believe that the new Dental Hospital will be finished by the end of the year and ready for occupation in the spring, and that the physical training and recreation centre in Burlington Street will be ready for use in October.

" It is not easy at this stage to know whether to go on with the rest of the building programme or wait till things are more settled, and that is the difficult problem that is confronting the Council and the Senate."

Dr. Stopford congratulated the graduands and wished them good luck and success in their careers, and asked them not to forget their own University and to become active members of Convocation.

It is with deep regret we have to record the decease of three of the Governors of the Library which have occurred since the appearance of our last issue.

Mr. A. Linney Arnold passed away, at the age of sixty-six years, on Friday, the 16th of June, at his home at Hale, Cheshire.

A. LINNEY ARNOLD.

Mr. Arnold had been chosen in December, 1934, by the Lancashire Congregational Union as their representative on the Rylands Council of Governors, in succession to the late Mr. Gerard N. Ford, and during the four years that had elapsed since his appointment he had rendered valuable service to the Library.

Mr. Arnold, late of the firm of W. A. Arnold & Sons, stock-brokers, was the elder brother of Lord Arnold. He had been a member for about forty years of the Manchester Stock Exchange, and for several years filled the office of chairman. He was a member of the Board of the Manchester Royal Infirmary, and took a leading part in the provision of the Private Patients' Home there, was President of the Manchester Statistical Society, and by his great personal charm he gained the affection and respect of all with whom he came into contact.

The death of Sir Alfred Joseph Law, M.P., J.P., at the age of seventy-nine years, took place at his home at Littleborough, near Rochdale, on Tuesday, the 18th of June.

SIR ALFRED JOSEPH LAW, M.P., J.P.

Sir Alfred, who was appointed by the Rylands Council of Governors as a Co-optative Governor, in December, 1929, was a man of many interests in business, religion, and politics. He

was the governing director of A. and W. Law, Limited, woollen manufacturers, and for years during the depression kept the mill working at a loss so that none of the workpeople should suffer.

Sir Alfred entered public life at an early age, and was elected Member of Parliament for Rochdale in 1918, and sat for that constituency until 1922. In 1929 he was elected Member for the High Peak Division of Derbyshire, which he represented until his death. The knighthood, conferred upon him in 1927, was for political services.

A prominent churchman, Sir Alfred was a member of the National Church Assembly and the Manchester Diocesan Conference.

Sir Alfred possessed a fine library which he had inherited from his uncle. It included, among other manuscripts of Sir Walter Scott and Robert Burns, a fine collection of Brontë relics. The printed works included a most interesting group of the quarto plays of Shakespeare.

The death of Alderman Sir William Davy, J.P., occurred at his home at Burnage, on Wednesday, the 27th of September.

SIR WILLIAM DAVY, J.P.

Sir William, who was in his seventy-sixth year, was born at Langcliffe, near Settle in Yorkshire, and from very humble beginnings attained to the highest honour Manchester, the city of his adoption, had in their power to confer, that of Chief Magistrate.

Sir William was first elected to the Manchester City Council in 1910, and for many years had been one of the most influential of the city's representatives. As a reward for his public services he was knighted in 1931. He was one of the oldest of the city's magistrates, and for twenty-one years was a member, and latterly Chairman of the Licensing Committee.

In 1927 Sir William was appointed to represent the Manchester Corporation on the Council of the Rylands Library and since 1929 had filled the office of Honorary Treasurer. Throughout the twelve years of his association with the Library he had rendered it very conspicuous services.

Sir William was one of nature's gentlemen, high minded in thought and deed, but with a lowliness of heart which shut out all dreams of self-importance. Whether in the Police Court or on the Licensing Bench he was always sympathetic, following the dictates of a very tender conscience.

We regret to learn also of the death of Dr. John Edward King, formerly High Master of the Manchester Grammar School, and between 1899 and 1903 a Representative of the Victoria University on the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library.

DR. JOHN EDWARD KING.

Dr. King's death occurred at Chilton Polden, near Bridgwater, Somerset, where he was born on 10th July, 1858.

John Edward King was educated at Clifton College, and Lincoln College, Oxford, of which he was a scholar, and later, in 1882, was elected to a fellowship.

For three years King shared the teaching of the highest classical form at St. Paul's with his old friend and schoolfellow, Christopher Cookson. This was the period when F. W. Walker was repeating at St. Paul's the extraordinary run of scholastic distinctions which had marked his tenure of the High Mastership of Manchester Grammar School. Walker strongly believed in hard work and mental activity for staff as well as for boys, and with his encouragement King and Cookson worked at the science of language and published in 1888, "The Principles of Sound and Inflexion as Illustrated in the Greek and Latin Languages," of which an abridged version was issued later as "An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin." Meanwhile King had been recalled to his old college at Oxford as classical tutor. In January, 1891, he came to Manchester as High Master of the Grammar School, in succession to Mr. Glazebrook, who had gone to Clifton.

At Manchester, King's aim was to carry on the Grammar School on the lines which F. W. Walker had laid down with conspicuous success—to perfect an organization for selecting the best brains of the district and training them for scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge. With this policy of the "educational ladder" no one was more closely identified than H. J. Roby,

formerly secretary to the Endowed Schools' Commission, who was shortly to become King's father-in-law and chairman of the governors of the school; and under King as High Master the school continued the academic successes which had distinguished it under Walker and Dill, though with increasing difficulty, as the supply of suitable material fell off.

There were several reasons for this—the rise of well-equipped secondary schools within the area from which the Grammar School drew, notably the foundation of Hulme Schools in South Manchester, Oldham, and Bury; the competition of "higher grade" elementary schools; the foundation of technical schools; the growth of local universities drawing boys away at an earlier age than Oxford or Cambridge; the increasing reluctance of parents to regard a scholarship as the natural goal of ambition for their sons. There was, in fact, much educational activity but little co-operation. What was needed was that the Grammar School, with the help of its great tradition, should conserve the humane influence in education, and secure that the bulk of the citizens should share in them and in the corporate life of a great school before they entered upon any separate vocational training. But perhaps Manchester was not ready for this conception; at any rate, King left it for a later generation to work out.

In 1892 he married Mary Temple, only daughter of H. J. Roby. They had three sons, the eldest of whom fell in the war. In 1903, feeling that he had been long enough in one sphere, he applied for, and was elected to, the headmastership of Bedford Grammar School, then vacant by the retirement of J. S. Phillpotts, after a long and brilliant reign. King's seven years at Bedford were marked by conservative policy. The school continued to prosper, and a school chapel, the want of which had long been felt, was added.

At Christmas, 1909, Dr. David, who had succeeded Mr. Glazebrook at Clifton, went to Rugby. He wished to be followed at Clifton by Mr. Temple (now archbishop of York) and Dr. Percival, who was then chairman of the council, was also anxious for Mr. Temple's appointment. Some members of the council, however, took alarm at Mr. Temple's youth and inexperience, and in the end King was invited to Clifton instead. He was the

first Old Cliftonian to become head master, and the appointment was popular among old boys and in the school. This initial popularity he maintained, largely by means of two qualities—his sense of justice and his sense of humour. On his retirement the Cliftonian selected as the special feature of his reign the absence of discontents. He carried the school safely through the difficult years of the war, and bore with courage the loss of his eldest son.

What he valued most in education was the intellectual discipline of the classics, and he always preferred that a boy should begin upon the classical side; but his policy aimed at giving effect to the wishes of parents whenever this was practicable. As he grew older, and under the strain of war, his own intellectual interests lost some of their keenness, whilst his admiration for the public-school training through games, and the corporate life increased. His hatred of all cant and affectation contributed to the respect he inspired. No head master ever avoided more consistently "the personal note". For his last address in the school chapel he took as his text, "Give an account of thy stewardship," but the under-current of his thoughts only once came to the surface, in the slightest of touches: he altered his usual formula of "Some of you will not be coming back" into "Some of us". He retired to the life of a country gentleman at his native Chilton Polden in July, 1923.

LLEWELYN GRIFFITH AND THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.

Sir Frederic Kenyon, President of the Society of Antiquaries, on the 21st of January last, opened the Griffith Institute, one of the extensions of the Ashmolean Museum.

The building is of four floors to the design of Mr. E. Stanley Hall. Three floors have been allotted to Egyptology and Assyriology, and the ground floor to older activities at the Museum. The greater part of the Griffith Library is now housed in the institute. Rooms are given to the Professor of Egyptology and the Reader in Assyriology, and space is provided for the compilation of the topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts and other research work. The large store-room, with direct access to the Institute

building, will house not only the Egypt Exploration Society's collection of papyri, transferred from Queen's College, but also collections of ostraca and other teaching apparatus. The Assyriology rooms will also accommodate the University's collection of cuneiform tablets.

Sir Frederic Kenyon, speaking as an old friend of Professor and Mrs. Griffith, whose fortunes have been bequeathed to the institute, said he had never known a man more single-minded and more tolerant of the work of others, a sentiment which is endorsed by all who had had the pleasure of knowing him and working with him. The Griffith Institute would fill up gaps in the careers of archæologists. No one expected archæology to be a goldmine, but it ought to be possible to earn a competence at it, for archæologists could not live on potsherds alone.

Dr. Griffith was responsible for the "Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library," which was published in three imposing volumes in 1909, after ten years of persistent labour upon it.

The work is something more than a catalogue since it includes collotype facsimiles of the whole of the documents, with lithographed hand-copies of the earlier examples, transliterations (in some cases into hieroglyphic), translations, valuable introductions dealing with Demotic writing, and other interesting features, followed by very full notes and a glossary of Demotic, representing, in the estimation of scholars, the most important contribution extant to the study of Demotic.

PROFESSOR CHARLTON AT THE BRITISH ACADEMY.

Professor H. B. Charlton, the Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester, and a constant contributor to our pages, in lecturing recently before the British Academy in London, took as his subject "Romeo and Juliet: an experimental tragedy".

The object of the lecturer was to show how "Romeo and Juliet" falls short of giving complete tragic satisfaction.

He regarded it as an experimental play, and one which was not really successful, however much its poetry might delight us.

He began his argument by analysing the sixteenth-century views of tragedy. The opinions of the commentators of the

time were based on Aristotle and were, generally speaking, that tragedy was in some way " cathartic ". But they were concerned, too, with another side of Aristotle's theory—namely, that the matter of tragedy should be " probable and necessary ". An overwhelming sense of inevitability, the sense of fate, was thought essential to tragedy. But by Shakespeare's time there had been certain complications in the pagan, Greek conception of fate or Nemesis. The power of fate had, in a sense, been broken by the power of God.

Sixteenth-century critics realized this. Modern tragedy could no longer be based simply on the Greek idea of fate, nor on the themes of classical mythology. New themes were best found in the tales of novelists ; and that meant the introduction of love as matter for drama. The classical tradition, however, persisted at the same time, and according to that fictional characters were not admissible in tragedy at all because the inevitability of fate had, it was thought, no meaning except as applied to real people—whether they were the kings of past kingdoms or the gods of Olympus.

In the light of classical tradition Professor Charlton said the story of " Romeo and Juliet " was positively anarchic, for here was a love story about entirely fictional characters. He could not say whether Shakespeare chose such a story out of deliberate dissatisfaction with his previous more conventional tragedies. He had taken it from Arthur Broke's " Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet," who in turn had taken it from French sources.

Professor Charlton then showed how in " Romeo and Juliet " Shakespeare had used the " fate " motive, not as the sole element of tragedy in the play, but more as a background, an atmosphere. And as a new tragic force a new motive, that of " the feud " (between Capulets and Montagues), had been introduced.

Omens, Professor Charlton said, and dreams and all the machinery of fate were thick about the play, but it is through the feud that fate manifested itself. Yet that feud was not strong enough really to do its appointed work ; it was not, as properly it should have been, set in a region of semi-civilization, but in highly civilized Verona. And even in Shakespeare's text the artificiality of the whole conflict appeared.

That was one failure of the play as "tragedy". The other failure was in the use of "fate," for, as the lecturer showed, it was still the old Roman or, perhaps, Senecan, idea of doom; but what great reality or urgency could that idea have for Shakespeare's audiences? "The play," he concluded, "is indeed rich in spells of its own, but as a pattern of the idea of tragedy it is a failure."

MASEFIELD ON THOMAS HARDY.

It is always interesting to hear one poet on another, and recently, when the Poet Laureate opened a memorial room to Thomas Hardy in Dorchester, he regarded it as a privileged occasion.

Mr. Masefield has the advantage of affection as well as the kinship of poetic purpose when he comes to speak of Hardy's contribution to the great tradition of English verse, and even in the brief report of his address that is available one can detect some measure of a certain freshness of approach. Mr. Masefield saw Hardy's influence on young English poets as "probably the most powerful influence since Browning," whereas some champions of the younger school might have affirmed with vigour that its members were not notably indebted to either of them. It may be good for them to be reminded that one cultivator of this same great and varied garden sees roots of health and vigour where others might deplore only a Victorian obstruction. In Hardy's progress Mr. Masefield saw an example of that rare maturity which defies the advance of years, and mentioned Ibsen as another representative of prolonged vigour. Ibsen's passage, however, may be said to have been from poetry to prose, whereas Hardy's literary pilgrimage turned in the other direction, even to the extent of a lyrical period (which might be naturally expected from youth) that in its fullness came last of all and followed the epic-drama mood of "The Dynasts". "Ripeness," as the greatest English poet of any has reminded us, "is all," but the truth about Thomas Hardy's maturity is that he ripened thrice, in the novel, the epic, and the lyric. And whatever place may be given him as a poet, "maturity" in his case should never be used in such a sense as might diminish the rich flowering found in certain of the novels.

"History is constantly repeating itself."

Dr. Fish contributes a very timely article on "War and Religion in Mesopotamia," in which he verifies and confirms the above statement.

THEN AND NOW.

In writing of the first millenium B.C., Dr. Fish tells us that then as now the instrument of policy, above all others, employed by all the nations great and small of that time was force; armed force or the threat of it; war or the threat of it. As far as we can see, peaceful methods were rarely employed. It is true, continues Dr. Fish, treaties were made, but those treaties had merely such force as arms gave them. The normal procedure was recourse to arms, to aggression, which was sometimes by armed defence and sometimes, especially on the part of smaller kingdoms, by abject capitulation at the approach or rumour of approach of the aggressor.

History at that time was history of great political change. The mosaic of kingdoms, large and small, is destroyed piece by piece. The map is constantly being redrawn. So much so, says Dr. Fish, that the student of that time is in some degree in the position of the schoolboy, in a recent French cartoon, who complained that study of the map of Central Europe was made very difficult owing to a certain Hitler who was constantly changing it.

Warfare, then as now, was often promoted by needs which may be called economic; e.g. raw materials such as wood, metals; or by malice, greed, covetousness. The Assyrians mention as the most frequent cause of their campaigns the infidelity of neighbours to their pledged word to Ashur, the God of the Assyrians, or their instigation of hostility against Assyria, or their alliance with Assyrian enemies or rivals.

Dr. Fish concludes his intensely interesting study with the following passage: "Thus it was in times long past, in a world culturally and politically far different from our own. But it may be that whilst reading what has been written above some will have been reminded of words and deeds which have attended the declaration, the conduct and the victory celebrations of recent wars in our modern world. The comparison is not without interest both in itself and in its implications."

Mr. H. G. Richardson, who is a welcome contributor to our pages, deals in the present issue with some aspects of education in mediæval England.

EDUCATION IN MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND.

Some years ago Mr. W. A. Pantin published in the BULLETIN (Vol. 13, pp. 326 seq.) some account of a treatise on letter writing, apparently written at Oxford, sometime before 1420, by one Simon O., which forms part of Rylands Latin MS. 394.

Mr. Richardson has discovered two other works of a similar character in manuscript either composed by the same Simon O. or adapted by him.

The identity of Simon O. has not yet been established, but Mr. Richardson places him in a long line of Oxford teachers reaching back to the early years of Henry III, whose ultimate origin was probably Bologna and the schools of Italy. These teachers did not lecture to students in the recognized university courses, but instructed them in what can only be described as practical subjects necessary to those clerks who looked after the business side of a large household, whether lay or ecclesiastical.

The interesting account of the learned Simon, with which Mr. Richardson has furnished us, has been gleaned from his surviving works.

It is a matter of common knowledge that there are in private hands an incalculable number of old deeds, leases, settlements, letters, wills and other papers, the accumulation perhaps of centuries, which may not have any great value from the point of view of national history, but which are of the utmost importance as local records.

RECORDS OF LOCAL AND NATIONAL HISTORY.

Such collections, which may have been temporarily stored for want of better accommodation in stables, outhouses, or other unsuitable buildings, where they are likely to suffer irreparable damage from damp and neglect, are frequently turned out by thoughtless executors of estates as worthless lumber.

It cannot be too often or too firmly impressed on the owners or executors of estates that such documents form part of the essential source material for the history of the families and districts to which they relate, and are invaluable to the ever increasing number of students of our local history and customs.

The history which the present era most needs to understand

is the history of the people, and the qualified student may find enlightenment in papers which to the unspecialized eye appear to be mere rubbish. It is possible that in some obscure bundle lies the secret truth which may in due time clear a slandered reputation or kill the lie that gossip has substituted for history. But it is impossible for any document to disclose its worth, or its worthlessness, until it is seen in its relation to a much wider circle of events and persons than its immediate interest seems to suggest, and the destruction of one record may defeat a whole enquiry for want of a single link.

It behoves us, therefore, to provide carefully for the preservation of this material, which is the very warp and woof of history.

It was with that object that the Law of Property Act was passed in 1926. This primarily dealt with the safety of Manorial Records, but it also covers every other kind of local document. This Act charged the Master of the Rolls with the safety of such documents, and his Lordship, under the authority which the Act bestows, has appointed in every county Approved Repositories to receive these records either as a gift from their owners, or upon deposit with the right of recall, and to make them available for study.

We take this opportunity for again reminding readers that the John Rylands Library has been appointed the official repository for manorial and other documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, and we renew the offer made from time to time in these pages of our willingness to take charge of any such collections as may relate to the North of England, more especially to the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire.

Many collections have already been entrusted to our care, in response to our previous offers, and now find an appropriate resting place in the charter room or the manuscript room of the Library, where they are readily accessible to any student or reader who may wish to consult them.

BRITISH RECORDS ASSOCIATION.

Until 1932 there had been no expert official advice available for this class of material. but in that year the need was met by the organization of the " British Records Association," of which the Master of the Rolls was the first president. The aims of the Association are to serve as

a link between all authorities, institutions or individuals concerned in the custody, conservation, study and publication of Records, and to give them the means for any form of co-operation which may be found possible and valuable.

It is also prepared to advise solicitors and owners who may be in difficulties as to the disposal of private papers, deeds relating to property, and other documents which are no longer required for the purposes of current business ; and to arrange for the distribution of such documents under proper conditions to suitable local repositories.

Furthermore, it provides a centre for the accumulation and dissemination of all kinds of technical information useful to individuals or institutions engaged in archive work.

Enquiries as to membership and for further information should be addressed to the Honorary Secretary, British Records Association, 2 Stone Buildings, Lincolns Inn, London, W.C.2.

INDISCRIMINATE DESTRUCTION OF VALUABLE RECORDS.

In this matter of the preservation of old deeds, and other documents and papers, we venture to print a letter addressed by the Master of the Rolls to the Editor of *The Times*, in which he reminds us of the indiscriminate destruction of valuable material which took place during the last war, when positively waggon loads of such papers were sold as waste-paper for pulping.

" Sir,—During the last War the urgent need for waste paper led to the indiscriminate destruction of many records of great importance for the study of social, industrial, and political history. Accumulations of old papers in offices and similar places were handed over all the more readily because they were not in current use. But it was precisely among papers of this kind that valuable material was hidden and the loss to historical research occasioned by its destruction is deplorable.

During the present war a similar need for waste paper will arise and the waste paper trade is already looking for sources of supply. Fortunately there now exists an organization able and willing to give free advice and service with a view to saving records of historical importance from destruction. There are throughout the country approved repositories (such as county

and borough record offices, libraries, local antiquarian societies, etc.) in which documents of historical interest are being regularly deposited under the guidance of the British Records Association.

I venture to ask all those who have waste paper to offer to the trade, and have not the necessary time or experience to extract what is of value, to apply either to the local approved repository or (at the address given below) to the British Records Association, which will supply local addresses of experts, or, if necessary, act directly itself. The quantity of material worth preserving will be found to be a very small part of the whole, so that no appreciable loss of paper for trade purposes will take place.

" I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
WILFRID GREENE,
President, British Records Association.
2, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2."

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORIES.

With the publication, in April, of the concluding volume of the " Cambridge Ancient History," an immense enterprise was brought to a most successful conclusion.

It was in March, 1896, that the project of a Universal History was first broached by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, and Lord Acton invited to undertake its direction. Lord Acton accepted the invitation, and within a few months had constructed a comprehensive plan, prescribing not only the sort of historian he wanted and the scope to be allowed to each, but also the dimensions and anatomy of the whole. Unfortunately, he died before the first volume was published, but his bold and insistent vision has dominated the whole work.

Lord Acton wrote : " It would be history as it appears to the generality of instructed men and is taught the world over, but as each of the several parts is known to the man who knows it best. There would be a clean text without footnotes or foreign quotations or references to particular authorities. The name of the author would be the reader's security for obtaining without discussion or parable the most perfect narrative that any English

or American scholar can supply in the appointed space. . . . We shall avoid the needless utterance of opinion and the service of a cause . . . our Waterloo must be one that satisfies French and English, Germans and Dutch alike ; and nobody can tell, without examining the list of authors, where the Bishop of Oxford laid down the pen, and whether Fairbairn or Gasquet, Liebermann or Harrison took it up."

This enterprise, consisting of forty volumes, took more than forty years of co-operative labour to bring it to its conclusion. The three histories, Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern, together offer a history of the civilization of the world. The Modern History was conceived first, and the others followed on the same plan, and the direction was entrusted to Lord Acton, although he hardly lived to see more than the inception of the first instalment. Yet the serried volumes of this great enterprise constitute a memorial to that most remarkable scholar.

Little as Lord Acton himself wrote, there has been handed down to posterity the most impressive testimony to the vast and comprehensive range of the cosmopolitan sage and scholar, to whom speech in the four great languages of Europe was a birthright, and who was so happily endowed by fortune that he could pursue his studies at will in any one of several libraries of his own amassing.

The first volume appeared in 1902 and by 1910 the fourteen volumes of the Modern History were complete. In 1911 the first volume of the Mediaeval History was published, and in 1936 the last volume made its appearance. The first volume of the Ancient History appeared in 1923, and it was with the publication of its concluding volume in April last that this great enterprise was brought to a glorious consummation.

As one writer has said : " The whole landscape of history now lies open," but there can be no finality in it, and already with the delivery of the last volume comes the reminder that the Modern History went not beyond the year 1910, and that it is to be continued over the War and the post-war years.

No fewer than 366 scholars have collaborated in this work of producing a continuous story from the days before history to the days that many of us still remember ; and fourteen editors

have spared no trouble to get the right man for each aspect and period, and men of many nationalities here see their work united to serve the high purpose and ideal of truth first definitely planned by Lord Acton.

THE LIBRARIAN CONGRESS.

On the 5th of April Dr. Herbert Putnam commemorated the fortieth anniversary of his appointment as Librarian of Congress, and the opportunity was taken by the hosts of his friends in all parts of the world to congratulate him upon the remarkable success which has attended his wise administration of that wonderful library at Washington.

The occasion was marked by a luncheon given in his honour by his associates of the Librarian's Round Table, established by Dr. Putnam shortly after he began his duties as Librarian, which throughout the succeeding years has been a rallying place for his friends, not only on the American continent, but also for those from overseas.

At this luncheon it was announced that a perfect flood of letters of congratulation from all quarters of the globe, including one from the President of the United States, had been received. These were referred to, and in a few instances read.

The occasion was further marked by the unveiling of Dr. Putnam's portrait in bronze, deposited in the Library by his associates of the Librarian's Round Table and his colleagues on the staff, as a mark of their esteem and affection. The sculptor of the portrait in bronze was Brenda Putnam, a daughter of the Librarian.

That commemoration partook of the character of a leave-taking, for four months later, on the 1st of August to be exact, Dr. Putnam relinguished his post of Librarian of Congress, carrying with him into his well-earned retirement the good wishes of his friends everywhere.

Under Dr. Putnam's wise administration the Congressional Library has been expanded and enriched by the purchase of rare books, and by gifts that could not have been purchased. When Dr. Putnam assumed control of the Library it contained less than a million volumes and pamphlets. It was an impressive collection,

but Dr. Putnam carried the total to more than five and a half millions, and it has become one of the world's greatest libraries, if not actually the greatest of them all, and his name will go down in history as the real creator of one of the world's most notable institutions. This he did, in the first place, by his mastery of the science of librarianship, and, in the second place, by the single-minded dedication of his gifts of character to the service of his country.

But there is a wider note that needs to be struck, for Dr. Putnam has done more than we yet realize for the profession of librarianship. He has not only raised its status, but he has added dignity to it by his personal charm and scholarship.

Dr. Putnam has been succeeded in the post of Librarian of Congress, on the nomination of the President of the United States, by Archibald McLeish, a lawyer, a poet, a journalist and a scholar, but apparently without any library experience. We wish him success in his great undertaking.

A NEW BIOGRAPHY OF MRS. THRALE-PIOZZI.

We are pleased to learn that the biography of Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi, the friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson, upon which Mr. James Lowry Clifford, of Columbia University, New York, has been engaged for some considerable time, is to be published by the Oxford University Press.

Mr. Clifford has spent many months with the Rylands collection of letters, family papers, notebooks and other manuscript matter of Johnsonian interest which had once belonged to Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi. Many of the letters contain references to Dr. Johnson, and throw a flood of light upon the intimate relationship which existed between the Thrale family and their trusted friend and adviser for more than twenty years, especially upon the life at Streatham Place which both Johnson and the Thrales delighted to call " home ".

Mr. Clifford has drawn upon this contemporary evidence, which has provided him with definite proof about most of the episodes in this lady's life, and has enabled him to draw a picture which will do something towards rectifying the distorted and misleading view of other biographers.

With the closing of the Union Chapel in Oxford Road, Manchester loses a link with one of the outstanding personalities of its religious life and history.

UNION CHAPEL AND ALEXANDER M'LAREN.

Union Chapel was made historic in British Non-conformity by the ministry there of Dr. Alexander McLaren. His ministry in Manchester actually began in a building in Oxford Road nearer the centre of the city which was sold to the United Methodists when Union had been built for his pulpit. To this generation he is known, probably, only by the painting of him in the Central Art Gallery, which Manchester citizens presented to the city.

The merchant princes of Manchester competed for seats beneath his pulpit and queues waited for admission at the morning services. Those who were not seat-holders would be informed by the stewards towards the close of the first hymn where odd vacancies could be filled and the rest might then return home. It was a concession that he preached one sermon a year only—in January—to the young people ; and it is recalled now that his thirty volumes of expositions had a world-wide circulation, because he was regarded as the prince of Biblical expositors.

His influence on public life in Manchester was immeasurable in the days when Nonconformity was at the height of its power. He was twice—in 1875 and 1901—president of the Baptist Union, an honour otherwise extended only to Dr. John Clifford.

Dr. McLaren was a member of the first Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library, and continued his association with that body until his death in 1910. Those who had the privilege of sitting with him around the council table carry many happy memories of his scholarly contributions to their deliberations, and of his caustic wit.

RYLANDS PUBLIC LECTURES.

In consequence of the lighting restrictions imposed under the Air Raid Precautions the evening regular series of public lectures has been suspended, and in substitution a short series of afternoon lectures has been arranged, to commence at three o'clock, during the ensuing session.

Wednesday, October 11th, 1939. "Browning: the Beginnings." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Thursday, November 16th, 1939. "The Psychology of the Psychologists." By A. T. Pear, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Psychology in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, December 13th, 1939. "Race and its Meaning in Europe." By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Geography in the University of Manchester.

Thursday, January 11th, 1940. "St. Paul in Ephesus, 2: The Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians." By T. W. Manson, M.A., Litt.D., D.D., etc., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, February 14th, 1940. "Brethren of the Common Life." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, April 10th, 1940. "Temple and Torah." By Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

RECENT RYLANDS PUBLICATIONS.

The following is a list of publications issued by the Library since the appearance of the last issue of the BULLETIN.

"Browning as Dramatist." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 37. Price eighteenpence net.

"Richard Rolle and the Sorbonne." By E. J. F. Arnould, M.A., Ph.D., L.èsL., Lecturer in French in the University of London. 8vo, pp. 36. Price eighteenpence net.

"Athenian Legislative Procedure and Revision of Laws." By K. M. T. Atkinson, M.A., Special Lecturer in Ancient History in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 46. Price two shillings net.

"The Protestation of Richard II in the Tower in September, 1399." By H. G. Wright, M.A. 8vo, pp. 16. Price one shilling net.

"Dom Victor Perrin and Three Manuscripts of Luxeuil." By Leslie Webber Jones, M.A., Ph.D., Associate Professor of Classical Languages and Literature in the College of the City of New York. 8vo, pp. 18, with four facsimiles. Price eighteenpence net.

"St. Paul in Ephesus: the Date of the Epistle to the Philippians." By T. W. Manson, D.Litt., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 21. Price eighteenpence net.

"A Palestinian Syriac Palimpsest Leaf of Acts xxi (14-28)." By Matthew Black, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 14, with two facsimiles. Price eighteenpence net.

"An Early Seventeenth Century Calendar of Records Preserved in Westminster Palace Treasury." Edited by F. Taylor, M.A., Ph.D., Keeper of the Western MSS. in the John Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 116, with facsimile. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

RECENT MANUSCRIPT ACCESSIONS.

A Register of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester. Recent accessions to the Library include a folio volume of seventy-five paper leaves containing, according to the title at the head of f. 2, copies of charters concerning lands and tenements held of the monastery of St. Werburgh, Chester. The contents, which are in various hands of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and have, on the whole, a roughly topographical arrangement, extend from the reign of Henry VI to the Dissolution. The volume, however, in spite of its title, cannot be regarded strictly as a cartulary, for it contains in addition to the cartulary elements miscellaneous information relating to the house, such as memoranda of the receipt and delivery of money, and copies of accounts and presentations. There is no original numbering of items or folios. Apart from its late date and the fact that there is no duplication of the documents set out in the printed cartulary (edited by Professor Tait ap. Chetham Society, New Series, vols. 79 and 82), the manuscript has a further interest in that it was formerly the property of Sir Matthew Hale (d. 1676).

Other manuscript accessions include :—

Richard of St. Victor, *Super Ionam prophetam :* Albertanus of Brescia, *Opera.* 13th cent. A note at the end shows that this volume was bequeathed to the Sorbonne by Pierre de la Sepieyra of Limoges, canon of Evreux (d. 1304).

Photostats of twenty-one charters concerning Stafford Priory, 12th-14th cent. (Presented by Dr. Gordon Ward.)

" The proceedings or a Journall of the passages in the Second Session of Parliament holden at Westminster," Jan.-March, 1629. That is, the *True Relation.*

One hundred bills and receipts for labouring work done for Horatio, Baron Townshend, 1666-7.

Thirty-eight documents relating to cos. Derby and Stafford, 15th-17th cent. (Deposited by J. Arnold Thompson, esq., on behalf of himself and his son Herbert Thompson, through A. H. Goulty, esq., 6, Brown St., Manchester.)

Miscellaneous business letters and papers relating to Sir Robert Clayton (d. 1707), lord mayor of London. 17th-18th cent. 28 items.

Quietus for the Hon. Roger Townshend, receiver-general of H.M.'s customs, Jan.-Aug. 1760.

Rental of Horsham St. Faith, Norfolk, 1724-61.

" Gemeinhaus Diarium " : An 18th century English translation of the Moravian Headquarters' Diary for 1747-53, 1755-64, with portions of the German for 1747-54. (Presented by the Moravian Union through the Rev. J. N. Libbey.)

"Memoire sur l'emploi des forçats aux ouvrages publics," drawn up by M. Michaud for William Pitt at the latter's request, 1784.

One hundred letters and papers of George, 1st Marquis Townshend (1724-1807), many relating to the Militia Bill.

Correspondence of John Norris (d. 1811), M.P. for Rye. 18th-19th cent. 440 items.

Forty Lancashire and Cheshire deeds, 17th-19th cent. (Presented through the British Records Association.)

Eighteen documents relating to the Leech family and to Manchester, 17th-19th cent. (Presented by Dr. E. Bosdin Leech.)

Twenty-three documents relating to Lancashire, 18th-19th cent. (Presented through the British Records Association.)

Collections of correspondence of, and papers and cuttings relating to Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe (d. 1915), formed by himself. Two folio volumes.

One hundred and seventy deeds and other MSS. concerning lands in Lancashire and Cheshire, 17th-20th cent. (Deposited by the British Records Association.)

Pitt Papers. A collection of some six hundred letters and documents from the Pitt Papers relating to Indian and East India Company affairs. They fall into four main groups. Firstly, manuscripts and copies (certified by secretaries, deputies and, in some cases, Directors) of correspondence between the Court of Directors of the East India Company, the President and Select Committee at Fort St. George, and the Governor General (Warren Hastings) and Council at Fort William, in their various departments, on matters of all kinds relating to the Company (military, financial, political, commercial, and general), with extracts from Minutes and proceedings, and numerous enclosures. These cover the years 1782 to 1784 and are arranged in (original) groups, mostly still complete; several concern Lord Macartney and the Nabob of Arcot, Major-General Stuart, General Mathews, and Mr. Bristow, Resident at Lucknow. The other three groups contain miscellaneous financial, military and political, and commercial papers and reports of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In addition there are four manuscript volumes of the late eighteenth century: *Tanjore and Arcot Reports, Statements respecting the Trade and Revenue of the East India Company, Statements on the Nature of and the Mode and Expense of Collecting the Bengal Customs according to the Plans of* 1773 *and* 1781, and *Abstract of the several Plans transmitted relative to the future Government of Bengal and the other British Settlements in India.*

Rotographs of (1) *The Life of St. Christopher, Marvels of the East,* and the supposititious epistle of Alexander the Great to Aristotle on the Marvels of India, in Anglo-Saxon; from

British Museum, Cotton MS. Vitellius A. XV (10th cent.). (2) Laȝamon's *Brut.*, from B.M., Cotton MS. Caligula A. IX. (13th cent.). (3) *The Siege of Jerusalem*, from B.M. Add. MS. 31,042, Lambeth Palace MS. 491 and Cambridge University Library MS. Mm. V. 14 (all 15th cent.).

GENERAL ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the library since the publication of our last issue :—

ART : Borradaile (V. and R.), " How to paint in egg tempera," 8vo ; Clark (Walter), " Photography by Infra-red : its principles and applications," 8vo ; Francastel (P.), " L'impressionnisme : les origines de la peinture moderne de Monet à Gaguin," 8vo ; Grabur (A.), " L'Empereur dans l'art Byzantin : recherches sur l'art officiel de l'Empire d'Orient," 8vo ; Leroy (Alf.), " Histoire de la peinture anglaise, 800-1938 : son évolution et ses maîtres," 8vo ; Montet (P.), " Les reliques de l'art syrien dans l'Egypte du nouvel empire," 8vo ; Reichel (Anton), " The chiaroscurists of the 16th to 18th centuries, illustrated with 111 facsimiles in colour of original woodcuts of the great masters," Folio ; Siren (Oswald), " A history of early Chinese art (500 plates)," 4 vols., 4to ; Venturi (A.), " Storia dell'arte italiana," 11 vols., 8vo.

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WAR AND RELIGION IN ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA.

By T. FISH, Ph.D.

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IN the Louvre, Paris, are the remains of the oldest war memorial known to us. It is named the *Stèle des Vautours*,[1] because of the representations of vultures on the upper portion of the stela. They belong to the scene, for wherever the carcasses lay there did the vultures gather. This early war memorial commemorates not the glorious dead of the victors but their victory and the sorry fate of the vanquished who are shown on the stela lying piled one upon the other under the hurrying feet of the conquerors.

The war was fought for the restoration of frontiers: then as now! The texts are explicit on this point. "The god Enlil, king of the lands, father of the gods, by his irrevocable word, marked out a boundary for the god Ningirsu and the god Shara" (Ningirsu was the god of Lagash and Shara was the god of Umma; each god standing for the territory over which he ruled). "Mesilim, the king of Kish, commanded by his goddess Kadi, set up a stone in that place for the protection of that territory," thus acting as a third-party between these two neighbouring towns. "But Ush, the *ishag* of Umma, was vainglorious. He smashed that monument and marched into the plain of Lagash. Ningirsu, the warrior of Enlil, according to his just word, made war with Umma. On the command of Enlil his large overwhelming net enveloped them. On that spot in the plain he heaped upon them mounds of earth which buried them." We can see it all even to-day on the fragments of the stela which have been preserved: the god, his net, and his heavy club with

[1] A full description of the stela, with illustrations, is given in Chapter V of *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, by L. W. King.

which he strikes the enemy soldiers who struggle to free themselves from his net. And over all, the vultures!

That was in 2800 B.C. or thereabouts. Rulers and soldiers fought and died in battle. But to the local god the glory. The boundaries between the two city states are once more determined. But that which Eannatum did, his son Entemena had to do again. He ends the story of the Lagash-Umma problem as he left it, with this prayer: "If the men of Umma cross the canal boundary of Nina, to do evil, to annex the territory, to pass beyond it, whether they are men of Umma or men of the hill country, may Enlil destroy them; may Ningirsu with his large spreading net enclose them; may he set his mighty hand and mighty feet upon them from above; may the people of his city rage against them; may he destroy them in the midst of his city".

The record[1] from which the above passages are taken, was written in Sumerian by Sumerians. But the sentiments therein expressed are of all time until now. They recur again and again in Sumerian and Akkadian literature of north and south Mesopotamia during the more than two thousand years of history from the date of the Stela of Vultures. Utuhegal, king of Erech, was raised up by Enlil to wipe out the very name of Gutium, "the stinging-serpent of the hills, the enemy of the gods," and to win back independence for Sumer. He prays to Ishtar-Inanna, his lady, the "lioness of battle", for aid, and goes out crying, "My lady Inanna is my helper; the god Tammuz the . . . of heaven has declared my destiny; he has given me the divine Gilgamesh as a defence". Heartened by his cry and the support of these heavenly allies "his city like one man" rally to his cause, until at last "Utuhegal sat down. At his feet lay Tirigan (the Gutean king)," his neck a footstool for Utuhegal who thus freed his country from the yoke of the last king of the Guti (c. 2400 B.C.).[2] Enlil, the father of the gods, "gave" to Lugalzaggisi, lord of Erech, the land of Sumer for his kingdom and "the lands unto his foot" from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof.[3]

[1] *Die S(umerischen und) A(kkadischen) K(önigsinschriften)*, S. 36-40.
[2] *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. ix, p. 111 f.; x, 99 f.
[3] SAK, S. 153-157.

But, alas for Lugalzaggisi, Ilbaba, the god of war at Kish, gave his " weapon " to Sargon of Akkad, who used it to overthrow Erech and to take its king captive. And the god Dagan gave to Sargon, the Semite, much land from the Euphrates far away to the Mediterranean coast. And even Enlil " gave no rival " to Sargon, the victor in thirty-four battles. The Semite kings of later days write in the same strain. Hammurabi, one of the most renowned of them all, overthrew a usurper (?) by the aid of the sun-god Shamash.[1] He conquered Rim Sin of Larsa thanks to " the gods Anu, and Enlil who went before his troops ".[2] By the great might of Marduk, lord of Babylon, he overthrew armies in battle.[3] And his son, Samsuiluna, says of Nergal the god of the underworld, " he brings to pass the defeat of my enemy ".[4] It was a fashion which did not, perhaps has not, passed out of the language of nations and peoples who have known wars, in every part of the world in every period of history down to our own.

If we pass now from the third millennium B.C. to the first millennium B.C. and to Assyria, it is because this latter period and kingdom more than any other provide us with documented material for our purpose. The history of the ancient Near East in that time is a history of great political change. The mosaic of kingdoms large and small is destroyed piece by piece. The map is constantly being redrawn. So much so that the student of that time is in some degree in the position of the schoolboy in a recent French cartoon, who complained that study of the map of Central Europe was made very difficult owing to a certain Hitler who was constantly changing it. In the first half of the first millennium B.C. the changes in the map were due mainly to one power: Assyria. It was she who removed one by one the larger unities of the mosaic of the kingdoms: Babylon, Susa, Carchemish, Damascus, Samaria. For four hundred years, say from 1150 to 750 B.C., Assyrian efforts met with varying and unenduring success on the various points of the wide front which was the world of the ancient Near East. But from the time of

[1] O(xford) E(dition of) Cuneiform Texts, vol. i, p. 24.
[2] OECT, vol. ii, p. 32 (year date 31). [3] *Ib.*, p. 34 (year date 37).
[4] L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, vol. II, p. 207 f.

Tiglath-Pileser III, say 740 B.C., the change gathers speed, and in a hundred years is complete. In that short time Assyria had overthrown Damascus, Samaria, Babylon, Susa in Elam and, temporarily, even Memphis in Egypt.

As has been said already the political changes just outlined were effected chiefly by the power of Assyria. But the inter-state politics of other " powers " of that day contributed to the general political change. Babylonians, Elamites, Aramæans, Israelites, Judæans, Edomites, Moabites, and Egyptians frequently sought to extend their boundaries or were forced to protect themselves against their neighbours great and small. The good-neighbour policy, if it existed, was not practised for long. Contemporary evidence gives the impression that neighbours existed to be destroyed or, at least, impoverished ; to be reduced to vassalage and/or poverty. Every neighbour was either a potential source of hostility or a potential source of revenue, to be exploited or spoliated, and sometimes as a necessary means to these ends, to be exterminated.

The instrument of policy, above all others, employed by all the nations great and small of that time was force ; armed force or the threat of it ; war or the threat of it. As far as we can see, peaceful methods were rarely employed. It is true, treaties were made. But those treaties had merely such force as arms gave them. The normal procedure was recourse to arms, to aggression, which was met sometimes by armed defence and sometimes, especially on the part of the smaller kingdoms, by abject capitulation at the approach or rumour of approach of the aggressor.

Warfare then, as now, was often promoted by needs which may be called economic ; e.g. raw materials such as wood, metals ; or by malice, greed, covetousness. The Assyrians mention as the most frequent cause of their campaigns the infidelity of neighbours to their pledged word to Ashur the god of the Assyrians, or their instigation of hostility against Assyria, or their alliance with Assyrian enemies or rivals. All such explanations, excuses or self-justification may be classed under the heading self-preservation, and the wars might be called wars in self-defence. Such assertion of the will to exist and to resist on

the part of the Assyrians, or, for that matter, of any other group of people in the ancient Near East, would be described in our time as a manifestation of local patriotism.

If we use the word "patriotism" of the temper of the Assyrians of the first millennium B.C. and "patriotic" of its people, we do not use the words to express all that the words connote amongst the nations of the second millennium A.D. We do not imply, for example, that they were conscious of institutions, ideas, ideals proper to themselves, which they were prepared to defend with their lives. In the days of Assyrian hegemony, the various human groups of the ancient Near East, known as Semitic, did not differ from each other in institutions, ideas, and ideals. But the word patriotism, as applied to these groups, does connote a sense of nation, i.e. of community with other members within a given area, sharing a common leader, common traditions of religion, literature, and law, and, in the main, a common language. By these common things a particular human group was marked off from its neighbours.

We may ask whether there was any one factor or element more than another which made them one. We have mentioned language, law, literature. But these, though important, were not primary factors in the creation of the sense of community. The common country, that is, the area called the homeland, with its traditional boundaries is something external and changeable. Someone has said somewhere that if a common country were the most important factor in nationality then it is odd that Europe and other continents are as divided as they are. Hence the territorial factor would seem not to explain community. What then?

At first sight kingship might appear to explain community in any one of the ancient Semitic groups. All the peoples within a given area looked upon one man as their chief. He was their "shepherd," they said. They were his flock whom he "fed". They called him the father, the nourisher of his people. He was their defender against enemies whether personal as armies are, or impersonal—though not in their philosophy which made personal all forces of nature and its ills—such as floods. But however high and central the position of the king or chief, he was not the apex of the nation's social pyramid. Above him

was the national god. The king was but a tenant-farmer of the land whose owner and lord was the god of the city or kingdom. The king was the visible head of the national people and " church ". But he was not the ultimate authority. Over all the land and above all the persons thereof whether human or divine was the god of the land. Such as was Yahweh in Israel, Hadad in Aram, Chemosh in Moab, Marduk in Babylonia, such was Ashur in Assyria. He alone was permanent ; permanent as the land itself. Kings came and passed away but the deity remained appointing others to reign in place of those of yesterday. He alone was common to each and to all persons, in each and all parts of the kingdom. It was therefore he, the source and soul and end of the body politic whatever its forms, extent or personnel, who was the principle of community. He established unity. Accordingly we might substitute for the land of Israel the term Yahweh-land ; for the land of Moab, Chemosh-land ; for the land of Amon, Amon-land ; for the land of Babylonia, Marduk-land ; for the land of Assyria Ashur-land. Such terms express the essence of the matter.

It is not possible to prove that the populations in the different kingdoms of the ancient Near East were conscious of the fact that it was the national deity who made them one. And yet that they were conscious of the fact seems beyond all reasonable doubt. It is suggested by scores of official records. It is implied in the circumstance that treaties between " powers " were described as treaties between the chief gods of the powers. To break a treaty was an act of rebellion not so much against the city or kingdom with which the treaty was made, as against the god of that city or kingdom. A city or kingdom which was conquered by an Assyrian king was said to have submitted to the god Ashur and counted amongst his subjects. On the other hand, an enemy of an Assyrian king is described as an enemy of the Assyrian god Ashur. The annual recitation of myths and the regular performance of ritual in which the national god and his exploits were realistically staged in the presence of the inhabitants of the city and pilgrims from other parts of the kingdom, must have deepened the consciousness of the central, dominant place and function of the national god in the national life. But perhaps

the seers did more than any other class in the nation to focus attention on the divine lord of the land. By their agency the will of the gods was made known to king and commoner. No public work of any kind could be undertaken until the signs had been read by them. The seer was a most dangerous official, clearly, and, in some respects, the real master of national affairs. These and other, if minor circumstances of national life, economy and religion played their part in making that community which we call Assyria. Contemporary evidence from Israel, Aram, Elam, and other neighbours of Assyria is far less abundant than that from Assyria and Babylonia. But there is every reason to suppose that similar conditions obtained and produced similar effects. We may say of them all that none of them had any individualism or particularism, apart from their national god. His existence and presence amongst them was a *conditio sine qua non* of their national life. We recall the distress of the Israelites at the loss of the ark in which their god abode. Also, how the Assyrians and Babylonians took away or even destroyed images of local deities from lands which they invaded. As though the absence by theft or by destruction of the image, by taking away the *genius loci*, took away the heart of a people and their land. It is not surprising that the Assyrians, in this belief, often deported whole populations, thereby separating them from their native deities and breaking the original and strongest bond of local unity and patriotism, whilst allowing those peoples to live in lands far away from their homes, under Assyrian protection but for Assyria's benefit.

But not only was the god of the nation, in the general conception, inseparable from the nation itself. The works also of the nation were in a true sense the works of the national god. They were performed at his instigation and advice, and according to his wishes and purposes. Of all such works none was more frequent and regularised than the work of the army and its campaigns. Something has been said already of the relations between the wars and the gods in the third millennium B.C. Much more may now be said, and with more detailed evidence, of those relations in that part of the first millennium B.C. when Assyria attained hegemony in the ancient Near East.

A national god was part of national economy. More, he was part of the war machine. It is a dread thought. Kings and their armies equipped with spears and arrows and chariots are merely instruments. The supreme slaughterer is the national god, and his divine relations. No wonder that the armies who marched against his enemies behaved with a cruelty almost indescribably fierce, in his name and for his glory. The servants took their clue from their divine lord.

It was the same everywhere in the ancient Near East. Amongst the non-Semitic Hittites the king's wars were the god's wars. He and the king shared the spoils of war, the god receiving the greater portion. After the war the king reported to the god as might a chief of staff to his king. The war had gone well, thanks to the gods and the spirits of the dead kings who had accompanied the army in battle.[1] The Hittite god of war was Teshub, the equivalent of the Aramæan Hadad or Ramman the lord of storms and of violence. Amongst the people revealed to us by the Ras Shamra tablets, the war god was Mot, the divine son of the god El, celebrated in a myth of battle between Mot and Ba'al.[2] In Israel Yahweh is the generalissimo of the national forces: Yahweh-ṣebhā'ōth, Yahweh of the armies, celebrated in the Canticle of Moses (Exodus xv, 3-9); Yahweh is a man of war. He is in this respect like to Hadad. The two met later when Israel fought with Aram. "Arise Yahweh and let thy enemies be dispersed." Interpretations of these words in a sense consonant with modern theistic philosophy are anachronisms. The words belong to an age when metaphysical gods were unknown, and to a world of societies characterised by divinely sanctioned brutality. There were no exceptions, at least amongst the Semitic groups. Professor Garstang[3] thinks better of the Philistines. But where so little is known this opinion cannot be either proved or disproved.

It is clear therefore that war was not in itself repugnant to the character of the deities of the peoples of the ancient Near

[1] Furlani, *La Religione degli Hittiti*, p. 114.

[2] Dussaud in *Revue de l'histoire des religions;* tome cxvi, 1937, p. 122 f., and tome cxi, 1935, p. 5 f.

[3] *The Heritage of Solomon*, p. 313.

East. But before a war was begun divine sanction was sought for the enterprise. In Israel,[1] enquiry was made of Yahweh sometimes before the ark, sometimes before a priest wearing the ephod with Urim and Thummim, or in dreams or through familiar spirits. There is abundant evidence of similar enquiry of the gods amongst Hittites[2] and Assyrians. Professor Meissner[3] summarises the Assyrian material admirably thus: "Schon vor dem Feldzuge wurden die Götter, speziell der Sonnengott im Anschluss an Opfer nach dem Ausgange der Dinge befragt, aber auch im Kriege selbst 'zieht der Wahrsagepriester vor den Truppen her'. Er blickt wie der römische haruspex nach Leber- und Ölschau in die Zukunft, deutet dem Könige und dem Heere die Träume oder schaut selbst Visionen, z. B. wie die Ishtar von Arbela rechts und links mit Köchern behangen, den Bogen und das gezüchte Schwert haltend vor Assurbanipal steht und ihm Mut einflösst, und unterstützt den Herrscher auch wohl bei seinen heissen Gebeten an die Götter. Bei Opfern auf dem Marsche und im fremden Lande sind auch immer die nötigen Priester zur Hand." We may remark in passing that as early as the end of the third millennium there existed at Mari[4] on the Euphrates a guide to various formations of the liver of sheep and the events which such formations foreshadowed; e.g. such and such a formation of the liver foretold that the army would in terror make a *volte-face;* that such and such formation meant that the enemy would devour the land; that such and such a formation meant that the enemy intended to attack the land and had given the word to do so; and that such and such a formation meant that the king would annex enemy territory. The priest in an Assyrian army was able to draw on a long tradition abundantly documented, of which the Mari liver-models with their inscriptions are amongst the earliest evidence.

[1] For an excellent summary of the evidence see *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iv, p. 895; and Garstang, *loc. cit.*, p. 313.

[2] See Delaporte, *Les Hittites*, p. 210. It is interesting to note that before declaring war the Hittites made a *démarche* by messenger to the enemy.

[3] *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i, S. 101.

[4] *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. xxxv, 1938, p. 36 f.

A letter from the time of Ashurbanipal in the seventh century B.C. contains a presage of victory for Assyria in Egypt. The text [1] is as follows: "Ashur in a dream said 'O wise one' to the grandfather of the king my lord. You the king, the lord of kings, are the grandson of the wise one. . . . When the father of the king my lord went to Egypt . . . he saw, in the region of Harran, a temple of cedar-wood; in it Sin was leaning upon a staff, with two crowns upon his head, and Nusku was standing before him. The father of the king my lord went in. . . . He placed (a crown) upon his (the king's) head, saying 'You will go to countries which you will conquer'. He departed and conquered Egypt. The remaining countries not subjected to Ashur and Sin, the king, the lord of kings, will conquer."

Another [2] written to Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.) states: "I have taken note of the portents, whether they come from the sky, from the earth, or from the underworld (?), as many as there were. I had them recited in order before Shamash. . . . The royal image of Akkad brought up visions before me. . . . It made enquiry . . . Concerning the rebellion in the land it said: 'Take the walled cities one after the other. That accursed one will not be able to stand before the Gardener'."

We know that documents were classed in series, one of which was called the "Battle" series. We have a letter [3] in which Ashurbanipal asks that this series and others should be sent to him.

A passage [4] from the historical texts of the reign of Esarhaddon, describing that king's action against his brothers who have plotted evil against him, will serve to illustrate the religious aspect of *civil* war in the land: The brothers "forsook the gods and turned to deeds of violence, plotting evil . . . contrary to the will of god. . . . To gain the kingship they slew their father Sennacherib. Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Marduk, and Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, looked with disfavour upon the deed of the villains which was committed in defiance of the will

[1] *State Letters of Assyria*, by R. H. Pfeiffer, letter 248, p. 173.
[2] *Ib.*, letter 249, p. 174. [3] *Ib.*, letter 256, p. 179.
[4] The texts from which this and following examples are taken may be consulted in the volumes *Ancient Records: Assyria and Babylonia*, by Luckenbill.

of the gods and did not help them. But they brought their forces to utter confusion and made them submit to me. The people of Assyria who had taken oath by the great gods . . . went to their aid. Me, Esarhaddon, who trusted in the great gods, they opposed. . . . My anger was aroused. I raised my hands to Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabu, and Nergal, to Ishtar of Nineveh and Ishtar of Arbella, that I be allowed to assume the kingship belonging to my father's house and to exercise my function as a priest. They showed their firm approval by favouring me with a reliable oracle: 'Go, do not give up. We shall go by thy side; we shall slay thy enemies.' I did not delay. . . . The terror of the great gods, my lords, overwhelmed them. . . . Ishtar, queen of war and battle, lover of my priesthood, stood at my side, broke their bows, smashed their line of battle. . . . The people of Assyria . . . kissed my feet. The instigators of the revolt, the villains . . . fled to parts unknown. . . . In the month of Adar, . . . I entered into Nineveh. . . . There favourable signs, heavenly and earthly, awaited me; a message from the seers and news from the gods and the goddesses."

Such was the progress and religious character of a great civil war. Wars against foreign foes were no less religious in character. The inscriptions of the great king and conqueror, Ashur-naṣir-pal (ninth century B.C.), may appear more vainglorious than those of others before and after him. But he, too, gave to god the final glory. What he did was done, he says, by the use of the merciless weapon which the god Ashur entrusted to him. How merciless that weapon was is well known. One passage will suffice by way of illustration: "I built a pillar over against his city gate and I flayed all the chief men who had revolted. I covered the pillar with their skins. Some I immured within the pillar; some I impaled on stakes on the pillar; others I fastened to stakes around the pillar. Many I flayed within the border of my own land. Their skins I spread on the walls of the city. The limbs of the officers who had rebelled, even the royal officers, I cut off. Ahiababa (the king) I took to Nineveh. I flayed him. His skin I spread upon the wall of Nineveh." All this by the "merciless weapon of Ashur"!

One more extract from Assyrian records will illustrate the

importance of the priest seer, a sort of chaplain to the general-in-chief. The king of Elam had had assembled his armies for battle against Ashurbanipal. The latter in great distress prays to Ishtar who very kindly promises her help in return for his confidence in her. " During that same night in which I approached her a seer lay down and had a dream. When he awoke, Ishtar showed him a vision of (what he had dreamt in the) night. This is what he told me : ' Ishtar who dwells in Arbela, came in, quivers right and left of her, a bow in her hand, and a sharp sword unsheathed ready for battle. Standing before her, thou. She talked with thee just for all the world like thy mother who bore thee. Thus did Ishtar speak to thee : " Thou seest a vision of war. Wherever thy face shall be turned thither will I go." And thou didst say to her : " Whither thou goest thither will I go, dearest of ladies ". To which she : " Thou shalt stay here where Nabu abides. Eat food, drink wine, have music, and honour my divinity whilst I am away doing this job and bringing thee the desire of thy heart. Thy face shall not grow pale, nor thy feet grow weary, nor thy strength give out in the midst of battle." Her loving embrace enfolded all thy body protectingly. . . . Against Teumman king of Elam in anger did she set her face."

After victory, it remains to return thanks to the gods. The Assyrian kings showed their gratitude in various ways, but chiefly in these three : first, as Shalmaneser IV did, they might set up a great image of themselves in a foreign land, inscribed with details of the glory of the god Ashur and the power of the king himself ; secondly, they might, as Sennacherib did, impose on a defeated people an obligation to make presents " for all time " to the gods of Assyria, including oxen, sheep, wine, dates ; thirdly, they might, as Esarhaddon did, erect temples to the gods who had aided and protected the Assyrian armies, and decorate them with gold and silver and make them " shine like the day ". The same king on his return from his campaigns in Elam, offers to his gods the " first fruits " of the spoil which they had ordered him to bring back. The spoil is described as " folk and booty of Elam " ! During the months which pass between one spring campaign and the next, armies consume the spoil which the gods

have given them and the gods consume the spoil which the armies have brought home. And betweenwhiles there might be on view a king chained up like a dog in a kennel at the city gate, and heads and skins on stakes to remind them how great things their god had done by his fearful and merciless weapons in answer to their prayers.

Up to this point we have stated on unassailable evidence that the chief human groups known to us in the ancient Near East were differentiated mainly by reason of religion : each group had its own chief god ; that each national god was a god of war ; that every war was first sanctioned by the national god, carried on in his name and with his help, according to " revealed " orders, and, if won, won by the terror of his majesty and his fearful weapons ; that political conditions following on successful war were described in religious terms : oaths taken by the vanquished to the god of the victors, peoples and spoil made to serve the god of the victors, and territory added to the possessions of the god of the victors. Consequently, it is right to say that from start to finish wars were waged in an atmosphere of religion, as though the battlefields were temples where gods and men met in religious self-neighbourhood.

But besides such divine sanction and support given to the army in time of war there was also what may be described as divine example taught to the people in times of peace. Here is an aspect of the educative power of myths, especially when dramatised, and it is here suggested that they predisposed the population for war by reason of their content and realism.

The myths of Assyria and Babylonia are sacred stories. They purport to explain the world, life, birth, and death. But they do so by means of descriptions of moments in the lives of the beings and powers which surpass men. For example, the myth of Ishtar's descent into Hades, which is concerned with the deity only ; the cosmogonies which concern both gods and men ; the Epic of Gilgamesh which is the story of a hero who did not want to die.

It is important to remember that these stories were believed. The people of the time accepted the details as historical facts, and the *dramatis personæ* as real beings. What Professor

Malinowski has said of myth[1] as it exists in a savage community is true also of myth in the more civilised communities in the ancient Near East: the myth "is not merely a story told but a reality lived. It is not of the nature of fiction such as we read to-day in a novel but it is a living reality, believed to have once happened in primeval times, and continuing ever since to influence the world and human destinies. This myth is . . . what to a fully believing Christian is the Biblical story of Creation, of the Fall of Man, and of the Redemption by Christ's sacrifice on the Cross."

The "facts" narrated in the sacred stories and believed by the population were re-enacted by king, priests, and people at stated seasons of the year. It is clear that such acting of alleged events in the life of the gods must have been a potent factor in the social education of the community. The history of Jewish and of Christian communities contains many examples of the same kind of thing and of its influence on the outlook and conduct of the believers. Hence, for our enquiry, the importance of the content of the myths, that is, of the deeds, motives, and results of the things related of the gods whom the community worshipped.

For our purpose, namely the relation between war and religion in Mesopotamia, we may examine one of the chief myths of Babylonia and Assyria. It is known as the Creation Myth *Enuma Elish*.[2] This myth is in great part a description of wars in heaven, as a means to an end, the exaltation of the supreme national god. It will be recalled that after the community of gods had been established, they troubled "Apsu, the oldest of beings, their progenitor". He and his steward Mummu agree to destroy them. But they are themselves destroyed by Ea who slew Apsu and smashed the skull of Mummu by a process of sympathetic magic. Time and success do not improve the conduct of the gods and at last Tiamat decides "to do battle with the gods her children". For her purposes she "spawned huge serpents . . . filled their bodies with venom instead of blood" and collected a most formidable army led by Kingu. Ea reports

[1] *Myth in Primitive Psychology* (1926), p. 98.

[2] Given most conveniently in Mr. C. J. Gadd's British Museum publication, *The Babylonian Legends of the Creation*; with comment and illustrations.

the matter to his father Anshar. Anshar sends his son Anu to talk Tiamat out of her fury. He turns back in fear, and there is distress and lamentation in heaven. Anshar, after reflection, decides that Marduk shall avenge the gods. The rest of the story is of Marduk's acceptance of the task, at a price; of his meeting with Tiamat in close conflict and of his victory and reward. Even in translation the account of the battle is exciting.

This Epic was common to both Assyria and Babylonia. But where the Babylonian version names Marduk, the head of the Babylonian pantheon, the Assyrian version names Ashur, the head of the Assyrian pantheon. We know that the Epic was sung twice by singers during the religious ceremonies which took place during the first twelve days of Nisan (March-April). But not only were the mighty deeds of Marduk sung. They were re-enacted.[1] And though our evidence of the ceremonies and ritual acts during the New Year feast comes from Babylon, we are no doubt right in supposing that what was commemorated at Babylon was commemorated in the Assyrian capital Nineveh, whence have come most of the tablets containing the Epic of Creation.

The festival occurred, as has been said, in the spring of the year. The spring was the time when armies went to war! It is not suggested that the festival was intended to arouse the national will for battle. No doubt the theme of the Creation Epic was recited and enacted to obtain divine assistance against other enemies than foreigners, such as the powers which threatened the land's fertility. But it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that such recitals of the prowess of battling Marduk/Ashur would predispose the population for war. There had been wars amongst the gods in heaven, and by those wars the national god attained pre-eminence in heaven. It does not seem reasonable to suppose that such divine example was without effect on the nation that believed and dramatised it. The likelihood is all the other way.

Other peoples in the ancient Near East doubtless had their New Year festivals but we are not able to reconstruct them

[1] A study by Professor S. H. Hooke, of the Babylonian New Year festival is to hand for English readers in the Journal of *The Manchester and Egyptian Oriental Society*, vol. xiii, p. 29 f.

owing to lack of detail. But we know of other practices which obtained amongst them. In Syria during the spring festivities, first fruits were sacrificed. And the first born. The latter sacrifice suggests that there was a common belief that the gods had an appetite for blood. In this appetite all gods of war are one, whether amongst uncivilised or civilised peoples.

Thus it was in times long past, in a world culturally and politically far different from our own. But it may be that, whilst reading what has been written above, some will have been reminded of words and deeds which have attended the declaration, the conduct and the victory-celebrations of recent wars in our modern world. The comparison is not without interest both in itself and in its implications. But these are not the matter of this article.[1]

[1] Readers interested in Assyrian armies and war tactics are referred to Professor E. Robertson's article, "Assyrian Warfare," in *Journal of the Manchester University Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1937, pp. 25-36.

FOLK-LORE AND CULTURE-CONTACTS.[1]

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UNUSUAL experiences, fantastic coincidences, strange customs, terrifying events, memories that have stirred the emotions are handed on from mouth to mouth as folk-lore when they have impressed people's minds sufficiently to become a heritage of a group. Old elements of the oral tradition are apt to be forgotten and new ones are added especially by the more imaginative, and so folk-lore changes as the years pass. It may have gathered around some ceremony that may have had a particular meaning ascribed to it, some ritual observed in the hope of getting good luck or fertility of crops or stock or families, and the ritual may have had various "explanations" at different periods. Ages ago, fires were lighted to mark the end of the period of vegetation in north temperate lands and to herald the beginning of new life; and some period about our first half of November was chosen for this. We have in this connexion the celebrations of All Souls, of Hallowe'en in Scotland, of Calan Ghaiaf in Wales and many others. The burning of "Guy Fawkes" in effigy on 5th November belongs to this group of ceremonies, but the old vegetative year has become the plotter who set out to destroy the houses of parliament. The effigy in the Channel Islands is still called the "Bout de l'An." For 5th November, it is quite likely that, in place of the un-deliberate changes of folk tradition, we have one of a large host of cases in which those in power seize upon an old custom and give it a new meaning to serve their own ends. This could easily happen when England was changing from a mediæval Catholic to a Protestant tradition,

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 15th of February, 1939.

much as it had happened in the Celtic-speaking fringes more than a thousand years earlier, when Christian preachers laid hold upon old sacred places and old ceremonials and Christianised them with, often, a minimum of change. In this way very ancient traditions have been handed down, not seldom with adjustments that make the primary elements very difficult to distinguish. Culture-contacts, as between Catholic and Protestant or between Early Christian and Western Pagan, have thus played their part in this renovation of folk-lore from time to time, and those periods of special culture-contact are also important as sources of new folk-lore. Some great new achievement impresses itself on people's minds, the incoming civilisation has performed something that seems a miracle to the older folk, the elder civilisation has mysteries that the incomers dread, or it may use its intimate knowledge of hidden ways in moorland and hill to effect disappearances and abductions. More important even than these is the fact that incoming groups have often been groups of adventurous young men, who have quickly taken unto themselves the girls of the older culture; and so, in the course of a few generations, the immigrants have melted into the common people in many instances. Yet this melting has not been without its crises, marriages between men and women of very diverse tabus are apt to have their tragedies, and folk-lore has seized upon the relations of the sexes as one of its most important fields of growth. Do not those relations link themselves with the deepest emotions, and are they not among the chief sources of personal and social motive power? Along with this we have the tales that one group tells about the other. Some feature of behaviour of the older folk, perhaps their dread of iron, makes a conspicuous impression on the newcomers who, for example, may depend on iron. A missionary ship in the South seas accidentally spreads what, to us, would be "the common cold"; it becomes in local tradition the ship of death. Catholic and Protestant groups in Ulster, Hindu and Muslim in India, Black and White in the Union of South Africa, and in the United States of America, Peasant and Gipsy in East Central Europe, give us abundant instances of growth of folk-lore, not excluding atrocity-tales

that may be ascribed to people quite other than those who may have been guilty in the first instance, supposing that there is a foundation of fact.

It has for very long been a feature of the growth of human intellectual activity that it has sought to explain phenomena, and especially phenomena related to social ceremonies. In early phases usually it has freely imagined a whole cohort of non-corporeal powers, making gods and goddesses more or less in its own image and likeness. These credal explanations have always been and inevitably still are provisional and very imperfect, and are bound to change. Old fancies become aged and threadbare, new and often wider generalisations take their place. The old gods become the minor spirits, sometimes the demons or powers of evil of the newer schemes and then they fade away from popular memory. Perhaps "Satan" may be considered an interesting example of this process; but it is far wider, and many of the older saints are really metamorphosed deities with cults adjusted so skilfully as to convince the student that the adjustment has been no matter of deliberate policy; it has been the mass-adjustment of the people's minds guided here and there by a new touch of inspiration.

We may thus look upon folk-lore as a repository of many important facts about outstanding stages in social evolution; it is in this sense a quintessence of history. But it almost defies analysis because it knows little logic and less law. It is a fruitful field of play of poetic imagination, especially among peoples which have developed bardic skill and fervour, a new glow is insinuated into an old tale, a new god or saint replaces what has become a spirit of evil. Nothing in folk-tradition is systematic, and generally it is only when we can glean evidence from some other line of study that we are able to find clues of any value; even then we must own that our clues may be but partial ones. A story may seem to reflect some culture-contact or culture-change of which archæology, for example, may tell us a good deal; but history has a way of repeating itself and it may be beyond our powers to say which of a series of culture-contacts or movements of peoples has contributed this or that element to an old story that may have been renovated many times.

Let us first take a comparatively simple case in which archæology helps us to appreciate an old tale. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us that Aurelius Ambrosius, having re-established Romano-British rule over most parts of England in the early days of the Saxon invasion, wishes a memorial of victory to be erected near Salisbury. Merlin tells him to send for the Dance of the Giants that is in Killaurus, a mountain in Ireland. They are said to be big stones of great healing virtue, and to stand in a circle. It is also added that giants of old did carry them from Africa and set them up in Ireland. Geoffrey then gives an account of an expedition to Ireland which obtained these stones after winning a battle. The moving of the stones is said to have given rise to the greatest difficulties until Merlin's skill showed the proper way to do this.

In 1923 Dr. H. H. Thomas, then petrologist to the Geological Survey, examined the so-called "blue stones" which are set, at Stonehenge, within the horseshoe and circle of trilitha; and he found that, whereas the trilitha were, as was well known, of local sarsen stone, the various other stones in the monument all came from the west of Pembrokeshire and, in his opinion, must have formed a sacred monument of great virtue there. Since that discovery it has thus been seen that Geoffrey's tale, which some say was also handed down locally, is not altogether fanciful. It has further been suggested that transport of nearly forty great stones entirely by land from Pembrokeshire to Stonehenge would be an impossible feat without roads for wheeled traffic; especially difficult would be the crossing of the Gloucestershire lowland. While we have no direct evidence, it seems most probable that the stones were brought part of the way by sea, perhaps to the end of the Mendip hills to be dragged along one of the old roads of their flanks, after which, with only a very short crossing of forested lowland, they would reach the edge of Salisbury Plain.

As to the date of this remarkable removal we have very little to guide us. Geoffrey's suggestion sounds fantastic and we shall not discuss it further, though it must not be forgotten that early Christianity in Britain, Brittany and Spain (before Ultramontanism developed) tried to build upon older rites that

had grown especially around rough stone monuments. The ascription of an interest in rough stone monuments to the post-Roman period is thus quite appropriate; this phrase carries no suggestion about period of construction or removal.

The point to which attention must be drawn is that Salisbury Plain gives evidence of the transformation of the idea of circles of wooden posts (quite possibly with lintels) into the idea of circles of stones (see Mrs. Cunnington, "*Woodhenge*," Devizes, 1929). Stonehenge's trilitha have the lintels fastened to the giant uprights by a tenon and mortise scheme, that is, by a carpenter's method. There is every likelihood that the idea of the sacred circle of wooden posts came to Britain from the Low Countries at some date not far from 2000 B.C. How long after this the trilitha at Stonehenge were set up no one can say, but it would seem to have been while the original tradition still had some vitality. What led to the substitution of stone for wood? Partly perhaps the presence of the great sarsens, but partly the fact that the Spanish, Western French, and Western British peninsulas and Ireland were already in maritime association and had become rich in rough stone monuments associated with what must have been a very vigorous cult, if we may judge this from the fact that fragments of it persist down to our own day in Brittany at least. We thus see that the bringing of sacred stones from some centre of the west coast religion to the great religious centre of the civilisation that had come mainly from the Low Countries is an indication of a measure of fusion following culture-contact. No opinion is ventured here as to whether the stones brought from Pembrokeshire were put up at Stonehenge at the same time as or after the great trilitha, nor are several other important points argued out. The story is told rather to show that a dramatic event in culture-contact left a vivid impress on folk-memory to such an extent that a writer of the twelfth century A.D. gives the gist of the story, however much he or others before him may have embroidered it.

We have other folk-tales of culture-contacts between seafarers of our west coasts and the people of Britain. Tales were handed down in Pembrokeshire of men from the sea appearing

with goods for barter by means of the silent trade, and sometimes they were credited with the power to make themselves invisible, a common trait of folk-tale in which the disappearance of the adventurer is an incident. The story of Elidyr is more elaborate and seems to have had fused into some of its versions a number of items from diverse sources, as is the way with folk-tales. He is said to have run away from his teachers and to have gone to another country with little men, but it is evident that this other country was not far off and not across the sea for he returned home to see his mother from time to time. The way to it was underground, and we may suppose there was some underground shelter or cave near the sea, very likely in the part of Glamorganshire called "The Gower peninsula." In this place there were gold balls with which he and a boy prince, son of the king of the land, were wont to play. His mother induced him to bring her one of these balls saying it would not be missed. As he reached home two of the little men made him fall and the gold ball rolled away so that they got it back. He was ashamed to go back to his playmate for a while, but, when he did so, he could find neither the way to the underground stores nor any of the gold. Later, he told the Bishop of St. David's the story and repeated some of the words his playmate's folk had used, and the bishop thought they were rather like Greek. This story was written down by Giraldus Cambrensis.

We know from archæological research that Ireland produced much fine workmanship in native gold during the early ages of metal, and the great stone monuments tell us that already in a probably earlier time there was a good deal of communication by sea between Ireland and Western Britain, and also Western France. Further, the ideas and cults associated have many Mediterranean links but, whether Giraldus' disquisition on Greek-British words is to be taken as part of the folk-tale handed down, it would be difficult to say. It is at any rate interesting that the tale is told by Giraldus in his account of Gower, an area with great stone monuments and age-old associations with coast-wise maritime traffic from Ireland around South Wales to Devon and Cornwall, Brittany and Spain.

At the same time we must remember that an underground

world is a widespread idea in folk-tale and may have come into this folk-tale from general tradition, it is also quite possibly a reminiscence of a scheme of earth houses, more or less concealed below ground level, such as existed in several regions. We must also remember that the idea of a " little people " is widespread in the Celtic fringe of the British Isles, and the southwest of Europe, and North Africa. It may refer to an old stock of small stature as many writers have suggested ; but it may also be part of the belief in ancestral spirits, a miniature of the original escaping from the dead body, but haunting the grave or sacred place of the people waiting for an opportunity to enter into a woman and be born again. This belief, which still lingers, helps to account for the persistence of the belief in the sanctity of these spots, a sanctity clearly respected by alien conquerors and even early Christian missionaries. The great stone monuments of early Western Europe and of Indian Ocean and Pacific coasts seem in many cases to have been repositories of soul-substance or personal essence waiting for re-birth, and this idea, naturally linked with sex symbolisms, is beginning to be used as a clue to the interpretation of some features of these monuments and of the rituals and beliefs their builders and users had attained.

Like the coasts of our Celtic fringe full of pre-Celtic survivals, the coasts of Spanish Galicia have a number of great stone monuments, some of them not far from streams with sands that contain dark grains of cassiterite, derived from tin-bearing veins, and also grains of gold. These monuments are still venerated by the peasantry. In this country of monuments is the sacred city of Santiago de Compostella.

Folk-tale gives an account of the bringing of the body of St. James from Palestine to Galicia, of the breaking up of a stone idol by hacking with iron tools and of the making of a tomb for the saint with the broken stones. Another version, of the ninth century A.D., speaks of the breaking down of a stone idol and the finding of an artificial cave beneath it with the roof supported by two arches, and in the cave an altar with the coffins of St. James and of two of his disciples beneath it. The whole countryside as well as the city of Santiago and the

port of Padrone is full of notions of sacred stones, often associated in popular belief with St. James as Mr. Peake and Mr. Howes have shown, and Professor E. O. James has collected analogous stories connected with places in Portugal as well. Perhaps some of these last may be in part copies of the Santiago legend by would-be rivals. It is very clear that the special cult of St. James in that region preserves a large pre-Christian tradition of sanctity, and Mr. Howes had devoted attention to the pre-Christian associations of the fine Pico Sagro a few miles south of Santiago. St. James is in fact an intruder into an old cult which was reinvigorated by this new fancy, but it may well be that the association with Mediterranean voyages is part of the old tradition as well as part of the story of St. James' body. Here then we see woven into one story events of two of the most important phases in the story of the development of Iberian civilisation,—firstly, the coming of navigators to Galicia and Portugal from the Mediterranean with the beginnings of a religious cult, and of trade and the search for metals, secondly, the coming of Christianity and its attempt both to use and to oust the old cult. The mention of iron tools in connexion with the breaking of old stone idols links itself with many other mentions of iron in folk-tales, and especially of the hostility between users of iron and the older peoples.

It seems worth mentioning the very widespread ascription of curative powers to the great stone monuments, and at first one might incline to think of this as a memory of the additional medical skill or magical power brought into the region by their builders. It may have a rather simpler explanation. The power of the ancestral spirits haunting the sacred places waiting to be born again suggests that they were thought to be founts of vitality, and illness was habitually ascribed to lack of vital power or to the influence of evil, that is alien, spirits, from which the ancestral spirits would be likely to protect their devout worshipper.

In addition to this group of stories associated with contacts between early navigators from the Mediterranean and the peoples of the Atlantic coast lands we have another group of tales that seem linked more especially with the relations between older

moorland populations and better-equipped, often iron-armed, invaders along the valleys.

Welsh folk-tale gives accounts of young village women being caught by the fairies and taken up to the moorlands to help mothers in childbirth. They also, like the folk-tales of many other lands, tell of the changeling child put into the cradle, dark and wizened and old at birth, in place of the fair boy that had been his mother's pride. One recalls that the dressing of small boys in girlish fashion as a protection against theft lingered until very recently. So-called fairy theft of baby boys was in large part a rudimentary hypothesis to account for the higher mortality of little boys as compared with little girls. But the changeling is a fact in several regions as Sir Harry Johnston, for example, found for Equatorial Africa, where the pigmies were apt to exchange their small infants for the bigger ones of the negro people if they could slip in unobserved.

There is every reason to suppose that such practices have long been common between neighbour groups of different status, and we now know of cases in Britain and North-west Europe in which lowly folk, hardly beyond Old Stone Age standards, lingered in areas near which builders of great stone monuments and early users of metal had established themselves. Indeed, no one would be surprised if definite evidence were found of local survivals of Old Stone Age, or perhaps Mesolithic, modes of life in Western Europe right down into the Iron Age.

The changeling in Welsh tale, be it noted, is dark and small and wizened; the stolen baby boy may be fair and plump and big. There is no doubt that the "little dark Welsh type" is very old established in the country, and that the bigger fairer-coloured people are associated with Iron Age invasions, though some may have come in before that time. The two types are very distinct from babyhood.

More elaborate are the tales of the fairy wife. A youth from the valleys comes up to the moorlands to pasture his cattle in May and a moorland princess appears before him—from a lake it may be—and he falls in love. He fails twice in his efforts to secure her for his own because he makes mistakes about the

customs of her people, but " third time lucky " is a feature of folk-lore, and the story goes on to the marriage and the consequent migration of the moorland girl to preside over the domestic side of the valley farm. Prosperity follows; does she not know how to manage the moorland folk who are very probably employed as the menials of the farm? Moreover, she is learned in simples for the curing of disease in men and cattle. Also her children are in less danger than those of women of alien origin. But eventually something happens which clashes with the tabus under which she was brought up—in one version she is running with her husband after a runaway pony and, when she is nearer the animal than he, he throws her the bridle and in this way iron touches her hand! In one way or another there emerges that clash of tabus which has so long been and still is such a powerful factor of danger in marriages between people of widely different tradition.

We know from archæological studies how much more important of old were the exposed areas of the country, relatively free from trees before the great damp woodlands of the valleys were cut; though evidence has accumulated of late years to show that river-side gravel patches were often used already in the Bronze Age. That the pre-Roman Iron Age witnessed some occupation of lower hill-sides seems highly probable, even if it be true that the great forest-clearing, village-making period in the lowlands of England, Germany and elsewhere was the post-Roman period of movement of peoples and of the lack of order and decline of towns following the disorganisation of Mediterranean trade by the early conquests of Islam. As regards the pre-Roman Iron Age, we have the tradition collected by Geoffrey of Monmouth to the effect that roads and cities were made through the isle of Britain in the days of Belinus, presumably about the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Geoffrey tells us that of the four great roads two were laid out slantwise athwart the island, and this suggests the ways along the scarp of the Jurassic limestone and perhaps that of the Chalk, not indeed in the lowlands, but at any rate indicating a growth of communications; and we have many indications that, about this time, population was increasing in both France and South Britain. We find, too, that, in the immediately pre-Roman time,

hill-brow fortresses overlooking the lowlands were being developed in several regions; probably legend has magnified some of these into cities, but some towns of South-East England did exist a little while before the Romans came. The important point here is that both tradition and archæology make much of a new development in the pre-Roman Iron Age about the fourth century B.C. in South-East England and later further west, and they make this new life very distinct from the older customs which in Wales were especially associated with the moorlands. The contrast between the iron-using valley people and the older moorland people is the gist of the story. Their customs and tabus are different and the moorland people, even if less well-equipped, have local knowledge and almost magical powers, so it behoves the newcomers in the valleys to avoid the wrath of the old gods and their interpreters. This is a typical attitude of the incoming alien, if he is not sure of his ability to dominate the people he finds already established.

We have thus seen that folk-tales preserve, among many other memories, facts of culture-contacts and especially of such as have played a very great part in the moulding of native civilisation. The building of the great stone monuments, chiefly in Western Britain, was the mark of a great rise in culture-levels inaugurating maritime relations that lasted for many centuries. Likewise the pre-Roman Iron Age witnessed an important rise of British culture-levels about the fourth century B.C., thanks to contacts across the English Channel from Normandy to Hants and Dorset, as both legend and archæology suggest. It is probable that both these intrusions into Britain brought with them important religious contributions. It is inevitable that folk-tale and legend should have been embroidered around these facts, especially when they passed through the hands of such a reckless writer as Geoffrey; and we cannot hope to reconstruct the actual sequence of events; but we need not for that reason reject the whole of these stories.

Folk-memory has paid another type of tribute to the idea of contact with a higher incoming culture in its ascription of special sacredness to the places where the higher way of life first appeared or established itself in the land. In the case of England the Straits of Dover and the peninsula of Kent were

the great way into the country, especially after iron had come into use and had made the ways across Northern France more practicable. Julius Cæsar reports that the people of Kent were by far the most civilised in the Britain of his time, and archæology confirms this statement. Again, in early post-Roman times, communications and trade between Kent and the Rhineland made our south-eastern peninsula culturally important, and it was to Kent that the missionaries of the Roman Christian discipline came. In Kent the old way along the North Downs branched at their eastern end to provide means of getting to and from the various harbours that might be used as alternatives by the seafarers, whose small boats might need to make for one or other according to the state of wind and tide. It was accordingly not the coastal harbours but the focus behind the whole group that became specially significant culturally—Canterbury is in a special sense the sacred city of England.

On the west coast St. David's Head stood out towards South Ireland and possessed a number of little bays again providing alternative landings. Little early Christian chapels (St. Non, St. Justinian's earlier chapel, St. Patrick) testify to the importance of the landing places and to their inferiority as compared with the local sanctity of St. David's itself.

In North-western Spain we similarly have one of the most sacred cities of the country at Santiago, again a focus behind a group of ports in the inlets of a deeply indented coast. In all three cases we have a good many indications of the importance of the prehistoric background as well as the fact that they were centres of Christian pilgrimages, apparently connected with events or stories of early mediæval times but in some cases at least deriving their power of attraction from an age-old tradition of sanctity.

The status of Roskilde in Danish Zealand, of Kiev in Russia, of Cracow in Poland can be thought of in the same way. They are all related to the entry of Christianity into their respective countries and they are all foci of regions of ancient settlement. In the case of Roskilde the cathedral city dominates a deep inlet near which are several important great stone monuments, evidences of the importance of the inlet as an entry of culture into Zealand long ago, though we still lack the kind of evidence

which, in the case of Santiago, links the cathedral with the ancient religion. The cities of this general type are naturally by no means the only, perhaps on the whole not even the most important, kind of sacred city, but they have their place in folk-memory and reinforce the general argument as to the importance of culture-contacts in folk-tradition.

One may conclude by a few remarks on reasons for that importance, for treasuring of memories of this kind, and for some consequences of culture-contacts. Firstly, even among modern peoples and far more among less sophisticated folk, there is a certain fear of ancient sanctities. One still reads continually of the curse supposed to follow searchers in Egyptian tombs. Formerly, with a more genuine belief in spiritual beings, there came over the mind of the alien, even if he were a conqueror, a dread of touching the old gods and sanctities of the indigenous people. They must be propitiated, the Hebrew turned cultivator must propitiate the Baalim, the Indo-Aryan conquerors of India must accept from older inhabitants the invulnerable sanctity of cattle they had hitherto freely killed for sacrifices and for food. More than that, they must allow their gods of sky, storm and fire to sink into the background and they must take up the worship of Siva and Kali. In other words, some deep-rooted elements of the old religions survive even conquest and large-scale immigration bringing new cults. Needless to say a factor here is the marriage of men from among the conquerors with girls of the native people, for, though these wives may, as is the general custom, eschew subsequent overt contact with the spirits of their own ancestors and restrict themselves to contact with those of their husbands' tradition, yet a residue of their early tradition remains and percolates through the barrier of tabu.

Secondly, it at any rate seems that, before written records and institutional ritual phrases became established, culture-contact might fairly quickly bring about a change of language. The Anglicisation of the Celto-Roman people of England, the Aryanisation of the peoples of Northern India, the disappearance of Celtic speech from South Germany in the centuries before Roman times, and many other instances illustrate this tendency. But, at a later stage of social development, with written records and perhaps contracts, and with consecrated ritual phrases,

epics and sagas, language becomes a possession richer in spiritual content and in social motive power. Thenceforth culture-contact became less likely to bring change of language except under special circumstances, and attempts to press language-change called forth the utmost resistance ; they have been one of the chief stimulants of recent European nationalisms.

Early culture-contacts on the whole may be thought of as effecting more fundamental changes than do most later ones. The indigenous basis seems to expand itself and grow deeper roots as the centuries pass, at any rate once the stage has been reached in which details of remembrance are treasured and recorded. Further, with improvement of communications and trade and some measure of liberation of arts and crafts from control by magical practices, it has become easier for elements of one culture to spread to another without necessarily causing a revolution among the recipients. Peoples of diverse languages and traditions in our own time are continually borrowing ideas and words from one another and yet retain their distinctive characters.

Tales may be told by one people against another in our own day, but they are less likely to become folk-tradition in the next hundred years than was the case thousands of years ago. At that period our quarter of the world was apparently experiencing attempts to form composite communities with households of diverse origins and traditions attempting to live side by side. We know only too well from recent persecutions in Germany that these attempts are none too easy.

Culture-contact, then, leads to interpenetration rather than to complete replacement of one civilisation by another ; though the latter may appear to occur in some cases, deeper analysis reveals a fuller truth. Interpenetration of ideas in its turn frees minds from being completely bound by one tradition, it gives them a measure of objectivity, of freedom of initiative and so may lead, and often has led, to big advances in equipment and thought. It is in some measure those big advances from earlier times that have so seized men's imaginations as to make them preserve the memory of those culture-contacts in their folk-lore.

PSYCHOLOGISTS AND CULTURE.[1]

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I WILL begin by illustrating a psychologist's attitude towards the study of culture. An important difference between the psychologist's approach, and that of most other students to any problem is that he pays chief attention to the way in which the material of his study affects, or has affected, the experience of a human being. If we can imagine a library whose contents are seen by nobody, it might be regarded as an example of material culture, but strictly speaking it would be of no interest to psychologists as such. This lecture, therefore, might perhaps more fittingly be called "Psychologists and Cultured Persons".

Before attempting to define a cultured person, I will do something easier; I will try to describe one.

A few summers ago, I was the guest of a business man amongst the hills in a foreign country. The first morning, while the rain emulated Seathwaite's best efforts, we sat on his balcony, waiting for visibility to improve. In excellent English, he told me about the economic state of his capital city, before and after the War of 1914-1918. I surmised that though privately he longed for the good old days, he took a vivid theoretical interest in the new condition of affairs, perhaps because it had made life more complex for him. After a while he said, "Well, we shan't get a walk; could you bear some rather good Schubert records on a rather good gramophone?" They were not rather good; they were excellent and unusual. He then described some new mural paintings in the neighbouring church and the interesting life-history and personality of his friend the

[1] Amplified from the notes of a lecture given at the John Rylands Library on the 9th February, 1939.

artist at work on them. "At tea-time," he said, "you may like to go into the town to hear some very modern piano compositions. I prefer Beethoven, but I think this new music is psychologically interesting. Meanwhile, let's go into the kitchen; I'll teach you how to make risotto." I followed him; he waved away a smiling cook, evidently used to such treatment, juggled with pots and pans, and soon produced our midday meal. (He emphasised, I remember, the importance of ensuring that the different flavours completely permeated the rice.) This many-sidedness, by the way, was expressed casually within two hours of his companionship. Need I add that the country was Austria?

The aim of this story is to depict a man whose personality had been permeated by the flavours of culture. I do not suggest that his like could not be produced in England, but I think it would have been easier to find him fifty years ago than to-day. The cultured man knows 'what is what'; and usually his discrimination is directed upon both people and things. Expression of his opinions is not limited to gush on the one hand, and boorish condemnation on the other.

If this is human culture, can it be psychologically described? It may be suggested that a cultured person shows unusual delicacy in discriminating between things and people, and in graduating his responses to them. 'Response' may occasionally include not only overt behaviour but abstention from such behaviour, as in the expression of tolerance by civilised people.

This is an extension of a concept which we owe to Sir Henry Head and Dr. W. H. R. Rivers. Originally applied by them to peripheral nerves, it was extended by Rivers to the whole of the nervous system which subserves human experience.

The responses of a cultured person are graduated, as a result of judgments based upon a knowledge of ethical, æsthetic and other values. Culture therefore rises and falls with the value-systems current in the community. As we now know, while in a social group the general level of culture can rise only slowly, it can fall with alarming rapidity.

These are some psychological questions which may be asked about culture:—

(1) In what ways and to what extent have psychologists recently studied the cultures of their own time?

(2) Since to become absorbed in a culture is usually to render oneself uncritical of it, in what ways have psychologists omitted to observe that their own culture-pattern offers problems for study?

(3) Since recent workers in psychology have steered it along scientific lines, and the breakdown of our civilisation is largely due to the use of instruments invented by scientists, is there any likelihood that scientific methods applied in psychology may render it less, and not more, able to interpret and analyse culture?

(4) Since nowadays many specialist scientific workers make no claim to be generally cultured, will psychology suffer more severely than the other sciences from the efforts of uncultured practitioners?

The personal relations of a cultured man with the society in which he lives offer a perplexing problem to the psychological student of culture. It seems reasonable to admit that a cultured man may have few contacts with his fellows; his delicate perceptions and his refined judgments may act in a circle as narrow as that thrown by his reading-lamp; from the few persons with whom he communicates the delicate flavours of his knowledge may be reflected back upon himself, to concentrate themselves more intensely; he may, in short, become a human casserole; yet he may still be cultured. I would, however, suggest that, judged by modern standards, this type of scholar is less cultured than he would have been, say, fifty years ago. Usually he makes his special knowledge available to the general public—if, indeed, he makes it available at all—by writing. If a university teacher, he may speak as well, but to a small and sometimes select circle of hearers, behind closed doors. For this behaviour, reasons, many of them good, can be found. But in the last ten years, some of these good reasons have turned bad; in another five, if civilisation continues to exist, more good ones will share their fate, for the dominance of the printed word has been successfully challenged, by the new invention of wireless telephony, with its even newer ally, television. Even now, it is possible to see as

well as to hear clearly a great man saying great things. That we are usually offered a small man saying small things is not to be blamed upon the instrument. But this social change raises very clearly the position of the cultured recluse and his future value to society.

In 1937 M. Georges Duhamel published *Défense des Lettres*,[1] a book which bears directly upon this subject. Are we, he asks in June, 1938, in the preface to the English translation, about to witness a transformation of our system of culture? He begins his argument by stating that our system of culture is founded on printing; a discovery which has been in operation for only five centuries. (Here he seems unduly to narrow the definition of culture. Music, painting, architecture, the making and appreciation of beautiful furniture, and not least the cult of social intercourse and easy manners; all these, though they owe much to printing, which enables knowledge of them to spread, are largely independent of it, as we see when some first-rate executants try to write about music, painting, or sculpture. Literacy cannot be equated with culture.)

The book, M. Duhamel says rightly, is one of the springs of creative individualism, that individualism which in these uncertain times remains the guardian angel of human society. A few decades ago "there was ground for belief that the practice of culture—meditation, search after truth, intercourse with the great minds—would, by purging souls, gradually hasten the advent of true civilisation".

But books, he believes, are going to play an ever-diminishing rôle in the enlightenment and entertainment of the multitude. For the man in the street, the book is henceforward to be supplanted by less laborious methods of information and recreation. And since reason is the chief guide to culture, and reason can be attained only by individual reflection and meditation, the cinema and wireless can never take the place of books as a cultural medium. Thus runs his argument.

If, however, culture be defined as enlightened critical awareness, or in the way suggested on page 418, it can certainly be

[1] English translation by E. F. Bozman, *In Defence of Letters*, 1938. London, Dent.

attained and expressed through the social arts, particularly through conversation and discussion. The radio and television may bring first-class examples of both to many an involuntary hermit, to supplement his books. I have argued this in recent books, *The Maturing Mind* [1] and *The Psychology of Conversation.*[2] I would go so far as to urge that an erudite person, who, because of a distaste for passing on his knowledge to others is a conversational boor, is by this the less cultured. Most successful social adjustments, personal and political, depend upon speaking, hence the importance in mental development of learning to discuss. Learning is for awakening, the development and satisfaction of interests, the widening and deepening of the awareness of self. Learning is for feeling appropriately and the attainment of finer perceptual distinctions; in short, to give balance and grace to living.[3]

M. Duhamel believes that if humanity were to lose its libraries it would lose its recipes for living . . . in contrast with primitive society, where all knowledge is stored in personal memory. (Here, Miss Aitken points out, M. Duhamel notes without comment . . . that culture did not always depend upon the printed word; primitive peoples having a memory culture.) He continues, "A hopeless confusion is growing up in the mind of the average man between information and understanding, between entertainment and knowledge":—

> The intellectual leaders of our time have not yet begun to give vigorous utterance to their uneasiness. Possibly some of them believe that methods are changing, and that in future the human race will keep its recipes for living not in libraries, but on ebonite discs and gelatine films.
>
> That is not quite the problem. The problem is not to know whether ebonite and gelatine are more faithful and permanent than paper. The problem is not even to know whether it is in the interest of the future of creative genius to replace the book, that friend of solitude, by a number of appliances that are dangerously adaptable to mass propaganda. The essential problem can be stated thus: Is it possible to create and maintain a true culture, a strong and flourishing culture, through the medium of pictorial and oral apparatus?

[1] London, 1938, Nelson. [2] London, 1939, Nelson.

[3] In contrasting M. Duhamel's views with those put forward in the present lecture, I have been helped by an article, "Modern Education," by Mary Baird Aitken, in the *Scottish Educational Journal* for 16th June, 1939. I have found it useful to quote her summaries of both standpoints, and here express my thanks.

Perhaps, as Miss Aitken suggests, this represents the contrast between the intellectual and the practical, the individual and the social.

M. Duhamel, of course, is not championing the deliberately unsocial cultured man. Perhaps his own profession biases him in favour of the reading, as against the listening learner and makes it difficult for him to see, as he might do if he were on a university staff, the complex problem which in 1939 is offered by the shy savant. What scholar would not prefer the ivory tower to the market-place? Yet the famous university toast, "And may this discovery never be of any use to anyone!" is to-day in some quarters succeeded by the murmured wish, "May this discovery not harm many people, but if it does, may we never know of it, or may the world never know that we knew!" As Professor J. D. Bernal writes in *The Social Functions of Science* [1]:—

> Some turn away from science in sheer despair of anything being done with unregenerate human nature. Others immerse themselves more closely than ever in their actual scientific work, refusing to consider at all its social consequences because they know beforehand that they will probably be harmful. Only the fortunate few can say with G. H. Hardy in his famous apostrophe on pure mathematics:
>
> > "This subject has no practical use; that is to say, it cannot be used for directly promoting the destruction of human life or for accentuating the present inequalities in the distribution of wealth."

Researchers in most scientific subjects to-day are neither unworldly nor out of touch with economic facts. Scientists are nearly always professionals, and the days of patronage by rich amateurs are over. Yet even in subjects which may seem to be unconcerned with science, practical considerations have become more urgent. The concept of language as an instrument of social intercourse is challenging the older views, which place dead Latin on the same level as living English or French. Some thinkers, indeed, ask, "In a world whose society seems to be going rapidly insane, what is the use of pretending that inked paper in a library is knowledge? Does knowledge exist if nobody knows it? When, by much labour, an important fact

[1] 1938, London, p. 9.

is discovered, is an equally strenuous attempt made to bring adequate information of it to the general public?" They would inquire, "Is it more important to-day to advance knowledge or to spread it?" The fact that few people find it possible to answer this question coolly suggests that the reply may depend upon one's type of mind. To the extravert, knowledge is for action, and the action of imparting the knowledge to others is admirable. To the introvert, knowledge is to be enjoyed, its rarity increasing the pleasure of its possession.

Let us now consider those methods of psychology which facilitate the study of culture directly, and those which avoid it. In its aims and guiding principles, one branch of psychology, existential or structural psychology, resembles the physical sciences. Its exponents regard any item or fact of human experience as proper material for study, holding that such an item ought to be examined in the most minute detail in and for itself, out of its context. A spot of red light, for example, would be examined with regard to its hue, intensity, size, and shape without necessarily considering the total pattern in which the spot is perceived. It might be a red lamp indicating danger from a stationary vehicle or a warning that an electric apparatus has been switched on. Not only the percept of a red light but also its image may be studied in this way. Though from the physicist's standpoint it is non-existent, its functional importance may be that to the thinker it symbolises moral danger.

The existentialist standpoint does not prevent one from studying discrimination of stimuli and graduation of responses to them, yet, stopping short of studying the 'internalised' values which controlled the graduation, it deliberately excludes from consideration the cultural aspect of experience. Such a psychology, it has been said, keeps clear of utilitarianism, metaphysics, and common sense.

The existentialist psychologist simply avoids the problem of culture. Whether in doing this he can ever produce a real psychology is a question raised by the *Gestalt* psychologists.[1]

[1] See especially Professor W. Köhler's *The Place of Value in a World of Facts*, 1938. New York, Liveright Publishing Corporation.

A great deal of early experimental psychology, especially that contained in the monumental works of Wilhelm Wundt and E. B. Titchener, casts no light upon culture.

Experimental psychology is not a special branch of the subject, but one which uses a particular method of approach. Perhaps the points at which experimentalists have become most clearly aware of the vast territories of culture abutting upon their small and newly cultivated allotment are those relating to affective experience, and to memory. Here the importance of cultural considerations soon became evident. When single tones and single colours were chosen as material for experiment, in a praiseworthy effort to keep the stimuli as simple as possible, some observers, especially those trained in music or painting, said that the material meant little to them in such a context, or lack of context. As a result, later workers have presented more complex and natural situations.

In the realm of memory, Professor Hermann Ebbinghaus's early insistence upon the use of nonsense-syllables as material for experiment, though well meant, laid a heavily restraining hand upon memory experimenters for many years. More recently, interesting verbal material like folk stories, prearranged actual conversations, and gramophone records of conversation and plays have been used as material for qualitative as well as for quantitative experiments upon recollection, and at once the importance of taking the subject's culture pattern into account has been obvious.

Even now, however, few text-book accounts of investigations into memory give the faintest hint that people frequently cast their minds back because of the intense pleasure which accompanies this act. This hedonic aspect of recollecting, the poet's 'bliss of solitude,' is discussed by psychologists, but often disapprovingly, under headings like Day-dreaming, Flight from Reality, Introversion and Dispersed Attention. Is this because so many psychologists are also teachers and doctors? The psychoanalysts certainly cultivate this tract of psychology, but their loving care is reserved for its less pleasant aspects: they are more interested in the things we don't want to rem mber than in those we do! By now, some psychoanalysts have almost

built a religion around such problems. A valuable psychological study indeed might be made of the cultural antecedents of psychologists who write about culture.

The *motivists* try to dig down below the surface of our experience in order to relate our behaviour to more fundamental instincts, urges, needs, and drives, which some of them hope to express in physiological and ultimately in physical and chemical terms. For them culture may appear to matter as little as the buildings on the mountain side may interest a geologist searching for evidence of volcanic activity. Yet their outlook may be too simple to fit the facts. In different societies, and in the same society at different times, motives like sex, religion, self-assertion, or acquisitiveness may assume quite different relative importance. This points to the possibility that from birth onwards the different primitive drives are so conditioned by environmental circumstances that it is impossible, by working back in the history of the sophisticated individual, to grade them in significance.

Gestalt Psychologists assume that patterns of culture, like all other mental patterns, are primarily important in psychology, so we shall not discuss their views and methods here.

In recent years the phrase ' patterns ' or ' configurations of culture ' [1] has been used extensively to describe the character of a society as a whole. To quote Dr. R. H. Thouless :—

> When we have described the elements of a culture, its customs, its institutions, and its dogmas, there still remains unanalysed the general principle of integration by means of which these are woven into what may be regarded as a more or less coherent ' pattern.' The motives to which men may respond and the goals toward which their behaviour may be directed are multitudinous, and every society makes use only of a certain selection of these. The particular selection of potential human purposes that any particular society employs may be said to give it its characteristic ' pattern.' Different cultures may differ both in the extent to which their activities are subordinated to a single pattern of motivation, and in the kind of pattern which they have adopted.[2]

In the same collection of essays, Dr. Audrey I. Richards writes about the culture-pattern studies which anthropologists have made. She says (pp. 286-287) :—

[1] Cf. Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, 1st ed., 1935. London, Methuen.

[2] In F. C. Bartlett, and others, *The Study of Society*, 1939. London, Kegan Paul, p. 123.

The organisation of the sentiments, interests and values of a particular group, as forming a characteristic pattern, has been mentioned as one of the key concepts of contemporary American anthropology. Such terms as the pattern, orientation, style or drive of a culture have been used to describe the influence of the prevailing values of a community upon its individual members, to explain the differential adoption and rejection of new cultural elements by groups of American tribes, and to provide the basis for broad comparisons of the temperamental characteristics and social norms of different ethnic groups.

Most of the culture-patterns studied, however, have been of communities or societies far removed in space from that in which the investigator was brought up. This is psychologically significant, for distance bestows upon the investigator's findings the advantages of novelty and rarity. Moreover, the fact that the community studied is psychologically 'distanced' by the investigator is sociologically interesting, as Professor John Macmurray has shown in *The Boundaries of Science.*[1]

He says that sociology has shown "an anxiety to maintain a purely 'objective' status":—

> It is this which keeps it so largely concerned with the structure of primitive society. The psychological 'distance' at which primitive society stands from the society to which the sociologist belongs, makes it appear 'external' to him. In addition, the social habits of primitive society are much more continuous and fixed. There is much less evidence of the modification of traditional modes of behaviour by deliberate thought and effort. It is therefore easy to represent these habits as the expression of natural laws which operate independently of the consciousness of human beings, and which operate upon consciousness and are reflected in it (p. 65).

and

> The difficulty of observing our own societies scientifically is mainly subjective. There is an inhibition to overcome. The form of science in general is set by the physical and biological sciences. Our scientific habits are derived from them in large part. We tend, therefore, in the psychological field also to search for an 'external' object of study; an object, that is to-day, in whose behaviour we are not implicated, and which is not affected by our processes of thought, or by the knowledge that arises from them (p. 66).

Until lately, psychologists seem to have been reluctant to study their own culture-patterns; for example, none of the English universities which train anthropologists seems to have had its characteristic habits, manners, customs, and ideas

[1] 1939, London, Faber.

studied by one of its own graduates. Perhaps a university education does something to increase a certain psychical blindness to the interest of such a study, with a tendency to take one's own social and intellectual class as the norm. One may note, for example, in some university circles a tendency to divide people into 'interesting' or 'dull'; intelligent ('first-class brains') or stupid. This dichotomy seems less popular in military circles or in the world of 'sport'. Lately, however, the existence of this blind spot in the *intelligentsia* has been discussed in the newspapers as a result of the activities of those concerned in 'Mass-Observation'.[1] They urge that the customary method of studying a culture-pattern in this country, when one person, e.g. a journalist, novelist, or poet, makes the record, must be highly selective, directed by his personal interests, preferences, sentiments, and complexes, which themselves reflect his social and intellectual class.

While no programme of social investigation can be free from the influence of selection, since the number of things which might be investigated is always great, the directors of Mass-Observation, by using many observers, try to study the 'same' social phenomenon in many different settings. To take an example; an obviously important problem for study would be the ways in which the English working classes spend their holidays away from home. To some this may appear to fall outside the scope of interest of a university-trained sociologist, anthropologist, economist, or general scholar, though a description of the ancient Romans' leisure pursuits would not. By sending many observers to Blackpool to report upon specific aspects of holiday-making, it was possible to obtain a much broader and truer picture than any single newspaper reporter could furnish. In such ways, Mass-Observers have studied many important everyday happenings. Their methods of 'writing-up' the data have varied, e.g. a traditional festival celebration of the 'Cow's Head' at Westhoughton in Lancashire was treated with the same seriousness as would have been given to a primitive rite in a Pacific island. The spread in popularity during the summer of 1938

[1] Cf. T. Harrisson and others, *Britain by Mass-Observation*, 1939. London, Penguin Books Ltd.

of the dance called the 'Lambeth Walk' was studied similarly. Themes more serious, but not necessarily more significant psychologically, were the subjects which different types of people talk about;[1] the habits of spending, saving, and economic planning among the dwellers in 'Worktown,' the reasons for the popularity of football pools, and the visiting of public-houses.

Mass-Observation has been criticised both fairly and unfairly, with vigour, but it is significant that its supporters as well as its opponents include novelists, journalists, and poets. How far the 'trained' observers have been trained in ways and to a degree which would satisfy a social psychologist or ethnologist; whether the directors' selection of topics for study may not be guided by considerations as one-sidedly personal or political as those which actuate the 'private' observer—such questions continue to be asked. Again, it is difficult to assess the degree of significance which ought to be attached to any fact out of its context, e.g. that at a certain moment so many people out of a possible so many did a certain thing—all these matters are for future discussion. But there is no doubt that Mass-Observers are contributing valuably to our knowledge of culture patterns.

If one attempts to criticise the progress of psychology in, say, the last thirty years, an obvious difficulty is to estimate its degree of maturity as compared with that attained by the physical sciences. Their age is now considerable, but scientific psychology has appeared in the lifetime of many of us.

In *The Boundaries of Science*, Professor Macmurray argues that now we have seen the establishment of the physical and biological sciences and the extension of scientific inquiry into the field of human behaviour, no further widening by science of the field of investigation is possible. "All the phenomena of experience are in principle covered by these three sets of sciences."

But we must not forget that the introduction of scientific methods of investigation into the realm of mind is fraught with very special difficulties. Professor Macmurray writes (p. 56):

> But there is an inner reason why it is inevitable that the physical sciences should be the first to arise. The material world is less highly charged with

[1] This topic has been discussed in detail in the present author's *The Psychology of Conversation.*

emotion than the field of organic or personal life. The social inhibitions which prevent the investigation of the material world are consequently more easily overcome. The mind will resist any interference with its customary attitudes to the world in the field of biology or psychology much more strongly than in the field which physics studies. Since the psychological condition for the development of science is the overcoming of these inhibitions, it was inevitable that the demand for progress in knowledge should find its primary outlet in the field of physical science. In that field the resistance to change was weakest, and the development of mathematical physics was the line of least resistance.

Is psychology to be considered as a babe in swaddling-clothes or an adolescent, beginning, in certain rather unconnected directions, to grow up? I intend to do nothing so impertinent as to offer praise or blame in any quarters, but merely to indicate certain aspects of culture, which, obviously important, have been scarcely touched by psychologists.

The one which first strikes the eye to-day is the Janus-headed problem of War and Peace. Until lately, few academic psychologists mentioned it; for example, the words do not appear in the very detailed index of a 627-page *Introduction to Psychology* by twenty-four collaborators published in the United States in 1939. Before the Great War, the idea of the inevitability of war seems to have been challenged by few psychologists other than William James, though several have written valuably about the many fallacies involved in the assertion 'Human Nature never changes'. It is by now apparent to most people that long-range bombing or a continued blockade cannot be carried out successfully in a series of paroxysms of rage on the part of a single person, and that such activities cannot be instinctive.

In an excellent if depressing summary of the discussions of war by sociologists, historians, economists, and statisticians,[1] Professor Morris Ginsberg shows that the sociologists and historians have been able to get little help from the professional psychologists; much of whose work on this subject, he says, is of interest and importance but lacks system and coherence.

The reasons for this neglect by psychologists of the problems of war may be numerous. One is the customary rigid separation

[1] E. Glover and M. Ginsberg, "A Symposium on the Psychology of Peace and War," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, xiv, 111, 1934, 274-293.

of individual from social psychology, so that 'individual' psychologists (sometimes individual in more senses than one) may have felt themselves exempted from such a task. Perhaps, too, professional psychologists have preferred to tackle problems simpler, more sharply focussed, less embarrassing politically, especially those which would appear to practitioners of the older sciences as being serious and worth-while. For research cannot be carried on without financial support, and those who judge of the deservingness of any particular research in psychology, themselves trained in the older sciences, are apt to apply their own criteria of seriousness, which frequently are the amount of apparatus used and of the applicability of mathematical formulae to the results.

Freud's psychoanalytic views on the causes of war, proposed late in his psychological scheme, have been expounded rather uncritically by some of his followers, e.g. by E. Glover, who has not answered the criticisms advanced by M. Ginsberg. Those who regard economic factors as a primary cause of modern warfare view with some scepticism the tendency to consider belligerency, except in political leaders and the leisured classes, as primarily a subject for psychiatrical treatment.

Opinions discovered by the psychoanalyst and advanced as likely to clarify psychological problems of war may be criticised on the ground that they are often unusual opinions, of a type peculiarly difficult to express in words (and therefore when expressed successfully they are likely to proceed from highly educated people), and that they have been obtained from psychoneurotic patients. Moreover, since psychoanalysis is apt to be lengthy and expensive, a large proportion of the clinical data obtained is likely to come from the examination of relatively rich patients, some of whom may belong to a stratum of society in which military service in the higher ranks is regarded as a normal career. For this reason until psychoanalytic observations upon many different social strata have been obtained, it is possible to believe that the 'aggressiveness' described by the psychoanalyst may be less intense in patients of a different social order, and in people who do not resort to psychotherapy.

We may mention a few other important aspects of culture

which have been almost neglected. While Knight Dunlap, G. van N. Dearborn, and J. C. Flügel are distinguished exceptions to the rule that psychologists, as distinct from ethnologists, seem to have shown little interest in clothing, the psychological aspects of speaking are still almost untouched, except by Edward Sapir and Carl E. Seashore; yet speaking and clothing are not only two outstanding signs of personality, but in most countries have striking social importance, as every dramatic producer and social climber knows.

An interesting paper, calling attention to the importance to the psychologist of ordinary social events, was written in 1934 by Hadley Cantril under the descriptive title, "The Social Psychology of Everyday Life".[1] This deals with the many problems which psychologists might be expected to study, and gives details of relevant publications up to date; a list which is very short, compared with the number of papers published upon other psychological topics.

Let us search for reasons which may explain the avoidance by social psychologists of such obviously important and interesting cultural signs as clothing, speaking and fashions, manners and customs (including those represented by clothing and speaking, in their many forms) characteristic of different strata of society, and the many problems of social stratification. Not only has there been neglect to define and to attack these problems, but little notice has been taken by psychologists of the valuable publications of non-psychologists in these fields.

I believe that one of the chief reasons why psychologists have avoided, or seen no attraction in these problems is that they interest almost every mind but the academic one. Fashions affect the scholar little; his speech is apt to be standardised; his clothes, by general consent, are free from censorship or from any type of comment other than affectionate mild ridicule; why then should he worry? Direction of his study towards popularly interesting subjects is likely to lead him into politics or into discussion of social and economic inequalities. Perhaps too, the belief that almost everyone in the outside world will have strong opinions of his own upon these matters, whatever the investigator

[1] *Psychological Bulletin*, 1934, xxxi. 5, 297-330.

finds, may deter the psychologist, who can easily work upon problems about which few except himself have any right, or even desire, to express an expert judgment. Professor A. Lloyd James, I believe, once wrote that he receives about a thousand letters a year from people who are quite certain that they know what correct spoken English is—and most of them live in Scotland.

A powerful brake upon the study of popularly interesting problems is connected with complete mental 'encapsulation' in one's own social group; which leads one to take for granted the ways in which people of 'one's own sort' do and think about things. There is, often, too, a curious scepticism, making the investigator avoid questions which may not be regarded by colleagues, especially by scientific people in general, as serious. He may not have pondered Professor Macmurray's statement, "there is no such thing as science as a whole. Science is only a set of particular sciences." [1]

From most modern books on psychology, even from those which specifically deal with personality, there is a striking absence of any reference to charm, wit, amusingness, tact (though one author attempts to analyse it into over 1000 specific habits) and, even in books on social psychology, to entertainment. Psychologists often write about laughter, but seldom about wit and humour, and Freud's book on the subject is illustrated by some of the most unamusing jokes which have ever appeared in literature.

One reason for the temporary absence from psychologists' writings of references to culture may be present in the dominance of interest in tests of intelligence and attainment, with its accompanying desire to express all results in mathematical terms. In this branch, one of the chief criteria used is the testee's success in adapting or adjusting himself to a real or imagined situation. Usually non-success is merely regarded as failure, and until recently, failure has interested few psychologists.[2] Yet many contributions to the highest grades of culture are made by people who failed at the tasks which the world expected them to do.

[1] *The Boundaries of Science*, p. 22.

[2] D. Gandine-Stanton, "A Study in Failure," *Character and Personality*, June 1938.

Literary men, artists, and musicians are often failures at most performances which the ordinary man would call 'practical'. Yet a very bright and entertaining party could be made of children who have easily passed their matriculation in every subject but mathematics. And many people suspect that a high proportion of intelligence tests, if they do not involve mathematical reasoning, require something akin to it. Social intelligence; the ability, through intuition and sympathy, to get on with people, is seldom if ever tested in this way. Again, the claims of the so-called linguistic tests are seriously upset by the fact that, as yet there seems to have been no test of the ability to use spoken words in conversation. The abilities measured relate to the understanding of or the use of written and printed words. And it is notorious that some of the shyest, the most introverted or the most selfish people have developed the art of writing charming letters, especially when these letters excuse them from doing duties which they do not wish to perform.

Tests of skill usually concern those rather low-grade dexterities which can be easily measured, in a laboratory or a factory. They would be useless for distinguishing differences of personal style, which are so important in the exponents of a complex. The view has even been expressed that some psychologists, on the basis of measurements which have proved to be convenient substitutes for examinations, are trying to erect a structure of mental laws. J. C. Hill, criticising the assumption that there is a definite entity called intelligence, which can be measured as height can be measured and which varies in human beings as height varies in them, says :—

> With civilisation organised as it is, it is difficult to justify the mental tester's view that intelligence is the kind of intelligence academic people have, and that skill in making things, in driving a bus, in demolishing houses, in getting on with people, is an inferior kind of mental ability. The intelligence tests given by mental testers are tests in which a 'smart Alec' is likely to succeed. The subtle skill in understanding human beings, which is a form of intelligence of the greatest importance to civilisation, is often ignored by psychologists because it cannot be conveniently measured. The smart Alec is smart because he does not pause to consider all the factors in the case. It is often only because of his limited outlook that he can deal rapidly and efficiently with the explicit facts in the situation. Lord Kelvin was a very intelligent man if we are thinking in terms of physics,

but he was not an intelligent man if we are thinking in terms of teaching. Most of his students learned little from his lectures.

Intelligence varies in human beings, but we show our intelligence in different ways. There appears to be little positive correlation between academic skill and skill in plumbing, paper-hanging, carpentry, building ships and engines, skating, dancing, acting, scrubbing floors, and so on. Academic people are not as a rule successful people at a holiday camp or a house-party. The very intelligent man is often the man who is well adjusted to the environment and somewhat insensitive to other people. But just because he is well adjusted and confident about his own powers he is not intelligent in dealing with the less well-adjusted type, of whom there are such large numbers. We should not forget, when considering Newton's eminence in mathematics, that in everyday things he was often absent-minded and stupid, and that in his controversies with Hooke, Flamsteed, and Leibnitz he showed human weaknesses to an unusual degree.[1]

The present movement towards factor-analysis in psychology, interesting as it is, will cast little light on problems of culture. If we analyse, as perhaps some day we may, a particular mind into factors, can we ever hope to give a formula which will differentiate such intelligent minds as those of Goethe, Leibnitz, Leonardo da Vinci, Edison, Schnabel, Pasteur, Henry Ford, John D. Rockefeller, and Sir Basil Zaharoff? Yet few would find it impossible to distinguish between their respective contributions to culture.

Light is cast upon our difficulties by a distinction between two kinds of mental discipline, and the thought that most problems in psychology may be attacked by methods derived from either or both of them. Windelband [2] proposed to separate the 'nomothetic' from the 'idiographic' disciplines. The former seek only general laws and employ only those procedures admitted by the exact sciences. From this standpoint, intelligence can be studied as an entity, with which some people are more highly endowed than others, just as the candle-power of a lamp is dependent in part upon the resistance of its filament. No physicist tries to study the individual personality of a lamp taken from a box of apparently identical examples. If it differs in any way from the others, e.g. in its length of effective life, he will seek for a cause which can be expressed quite generally in terms of physical laws. Napoleon was admittedly a man of

[1] *British Journal of Medical Psychology.*
[2] *History and Natural Science*, 3rd ed., 1904.

high intelligence, but his length of effective life depended upon factors, many of which could not be stated in terms of his intelligence. On the other hand the idiographic studies, such as history, biography, and literature, endeavour to understand some *particular* event in nature or in society. The shyness of Barrie and the lack of shyness of our veteran playwright can be studied only by idiographic methods.

Obviously physics and chemistry are nomothetic disciplines, and biologists usually try hard to follow this line of study, though at a heavy cost. When the animal investigated is dead and cut into manageable bits, or anæsthetised and vivisected it is easy to ignore its individuality. Yet Professor W. Köhler's work upon the intelligence of apes [1] showed that they all had personalities which differed considerably.

The definition of Culture offered you here may not be one which you would yourself have chosen, but I hope you will agree that it designates something in our social life which matters very much indeed, especially to-day. Recent approaches of psychologists to this problem seem to consist of advances in some directions and definite retreats in others. The retreats may be defended by the plea that psychologists are following the line of the older, physical sciences, impressed by their spectacular successes, and that psychology must get a move on. Yet, since the threatened obliteration of culture in our time will not be achieved by fists or stones, or any other non-scientific means, psychologists would do well to pause. And it is by no means certain that when it is completed the science of psychology will be like the physical sciences at all. If its temporary resemblance be purchased at the cost of neglecting Personality, psychology stands stultified. Even if psychologists succeed in pushing exact measurement much farther into the realm of mind, one may still view the achievement with moderate enthusiasm. For the most important things in this life cannot be measured.

[1] *The Mentality of Apes.* London, Kegan Paul.

AN OXFORD TEACHER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

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IN 1929 Mr. W. A. Pantin published an account of the second part of Latin MS. 394 in the John Rylands Library.[1] This is a treatise on *dictamen*, or the art of Latin prose composition, which was seemingly written at Oxford, by one Simon O., sometime before 1420. There are at least two other works in manuscript which were either composed by Simon or adapted by him, one of the same kind as that contained in the Rylands manuscript and the other belonging not to the *ars dictaminis* but to the *ars notaria*. With these before us we are able to place the author in a long line of Oxford teachers, reaching back to the early years of Henry III, for whose ultimate origin we must look to Bologna and the schools of Italy. Before the end of the fifteenth century these teachers disappeared from England with the conditions which had determined their rise and prosperity. And since little has been written concerning them and their teaching, and since Simon was one of the most learned among them, some account of him, such as his surviving works enable us to give, may be of interest as a contribution to the history of education in mediæval England.

Let me first say something of the second work on *dictamen* I have mentioned.[2] As Mr. N. Denholm-Young has pointed out, in his exposition of the rules of the *cursus* the author has been influenced by the Orleans school,[3] but the work seems to be by an English hand. The form the author adopted, which is that of a dialogue between Queen Rhetoric and the Nightingale, would need to be handled with greater skill than he possessed,

[1] BULLETIN, xiii, 326-382.

[2] It exists in two manuscripts, B.M. Royal 10 B., IX, fo. 178-195*b*, and Trinity College, Cambridge, O. 5. 4, fo. 69*b*-79.

[3] " The Cursus in England " in *Oxford Essays in Medieval History presented to H. E. Salter*, pp. 80, 101.

if the exposition was to be reasonably well ordered and clear. But the model letters that follow are more instructive, though in places they are overloaded with far-fetched conceits. These letters, like those in the Rylands manuscript, show an Oxford connexion. There are, moreover, a number of parallels in phrasing between the two works [1] which indicate that they draw upon a common source, even though they may not be by the same author or there may be no borrowings between them; while the examples that follow indicate, with practical certainty, that Simon O. had a hand in both of them.

I set out below the beginning (or salutation) and the ending (or sub-salutation) from the fourth letter in the Rylands manuscript and the first letter in the *Regina sedens Rhetorica* [2] collection. The subject matter of the two letters has nothing in common.

Rylands.[3]	*Regina sedens Rhetorica.*[4]
Simon, servus servorum Dei, serenissimo filio nostro Henrico regi Anglie honorifico, salutem et nostram apostolicam benediccionem.....	Simon episcopus, servus servorum Dei, metuendissimo filio nostro Henrico regi Anglie illustri, salutem et nostram apostolicam benediccionem .....
.....	.....
Et filiacionem vestram diu attollat in prosperis Rex celicus Deus ipse.	Et inclitam filiacionem vestram, ad ecclesie militantis defensionem, diu attolat in prosperis Rex uranicus, qui ad sui populi regimen vos elegit.

For the adjective *uranicus*, which is a mediæval synonym for *caelicus*, we may look to another model in the Rylands manuscript, where a student closes a letter to his parents with this sub-salutation: "Et reverencias vestras diu et feliciter sospes custodiat Pater uranicus residens in Olimpo." [5]

[1] Some of these are commonplaces, such as the definition of *dictamen* "literalis edicio venustate sermonum egregiaque sentencia coloribus adornata" (cf. BULLETIN, xiii, 334) and the description of the five or six parts of a letter. It is remarkable, however, that *Regina sedens Rhetorica* should end with almost the same words as the Rylands treatise: "predicta sufficiunt pro tempore moderno."

[2] In accordance with the common mediæval practice, the spelling is "Rethorica," but for convenience I use the more correct form.

[3] BULLETIN, xiii, 343.

[4] Royal 10 B, IX, fo. 183*b*-184; Trinity College, Cambridge, O. 5. 4, fo. 70*.

[5] BULLETIN, xiii, 370.

The letter from the pope to king Henry in the *Regina sedens Rhetorica* collection, which is concerned with heresy at Oxford, exists in another and apparently earlier version.[1] Here the letter is attributed to pope John, doubtless John XXIII, whose pontificate lasted from May, 1410, to May, 1415, when he was deposed by the Council of Constance. The alteration of proper names in this fashion was a common practice among Oxford teachers when they appropriated, with or without further modification, the textbooks of their colleagues or predecessors, although usually they were not content with inserting their names in only one place, as Simon did in this instance. On the whole, I am inclined to think that Simon was not the author of *Regina sedens Rhetorica* and of the model letters that follow, but that he used that work as a textbook for his pupils and later replaced it with the work in the Rylands manuscript. This will account for the parallels between the two.

The next work of which I propose to say something is undoubtedly of Simon's composition: it bears his name in many places and it contains frequent references to Oxford. It is on a subject we do not usually associate with rhetoric or the graces of letter-writing, for it is a treatise on conveyancing. But in the Middle Ages these subjects were commonly taught by the same teachers, and Simon was but carrying on an ancient tradition. His treatise exists in two manuscripts.[2] One of these lacks the prologue, not, I fancy, accidentally, but because whoever had this manuscript written wanted only the model deeds and the explanatory notes accompanying them, in order that they might be appended to a treatise by an earlier Oxford teacher, Thomas Sampson, whose life seems to have covered the reigns of Edward III, Richard II and Henry IV.[3]

Simon's treatise runs to some 14,000 or 15,000 words, nearly a third of which is taken up by the prologue. In this he begins by setting out his intentions and telling his readers what he

[1] Trinity College, Cambridge, B. 14. 40, fo. 171.

[2] B.M. Addl. 25238, fo. 64-116*b*; Harl. 4971, fo. 42-65*b*. The latter lacks the prologue, and there are some differences in the text. In the Harleian text nearly all the references to Oxford have been altered. Hereunder I refer to these manuscripts as A. and H. respectively.

[3] For some further account of him, see below.

thought of himself. The language of the opening sentences is unmistakably that of a teacher of the laboured elegance of pre-Renaissance Latin, of the kind we find in Simon's treatise on *dictamen*. Let me try to render it in a simpler English.

Reverend masters and dearest friends. The oftener a craftsman retouches his handiwork so, with a more exquisite art, its gleaming beauty is disclosed to the eyes of watchful beholders. When, therefore, I considered divers treatises of my predecessors (who had erred not a little in their presumptuous composition), for the more profitable and excellent instruction of learners I first refashioned their contents, swiftly purging their faults, as a goldsmith tests gold four times with a perfect liquid, contriving thus, while reducing their bulk, to retain their meaning and to adorn them with fruit a hundred-fold. And though in those treatises I expounded excellent charters and rules, in the present little work I have decided to contrive some yet more useful. But since nothing is built without a solid foundation nor can the term "charter" be elucidated unless it is accurately defined, therefore we explain briefly the meaning of "charter" and how many kinds of deeds are covered by it.[1]

Reverendi domini et amici precordialissimi. Quanto sepius artifex suum rimatur artificium, tanto et subtiliori ingenui sui artificii luculenta subtilitas in videncium oculis vigilancium patescit.[a] Cum igitur diversas respexi priscorum meorum cartuarias, in eorum composicione presumptuosa[b] non modicum delirantes, in quorum defectu prompcius abluendo, quasdam alias, in uberiorem ac nobiliorem[c] addiscencium edificacionem, prius correxeram, ut aurifaber perfecto liquamine comprobat[d] quartum,[e] ut sentenciam et compendium cum fructu centesimo disposui exornare.[f] Nam, cum in eisdem[g] cartas et regulas explicui nobiles, in presenti eciam opusculo decrevi serere apciores. Ymmo, ex quo nullum fiet edificium solido absque fundamento, nec carta sua absque veridica diffinicione poterit enodari, itaque carte[h] diffinicionem ac quot in se continet genera indicamus.

[a] epatescit. [b] prosumptuosa. [c] nobiliorum. [d] comprobatus.
[e] quartam. [f] exorare. [g] easdem. [h] carta.

But rhetorical elaboration of this kind is of no help in teaching English law, and so, having shown that he is a man of taste and learning, Simon immediately turns to expound the technicalities of deeds and tenures in simple, direct Latin, the Latin of the law-book and lecture-room, although he cannot refrain from introducing an occasional word which derives from the schools rather than the practice of the law. He has, for example, to explain the courtesy of England, that is the right of a husband to

[1] The Latin text, after the scribe's blunders have been corrected, is as follows. The readings of the manuscript are given subsequently.

succeed to his wife's lands if a child is born of the marriage: now to render the French *courtesie* by a Latin word we should expect a lawyer to use *curialitas*, but Simon prefers to speak of *facecia Anglicana*,[1] and when he gives an alternative word, it is *urbanitas*.[2] When he comes to the end of his exposition of the different kinds of tenures he says: "tenuras diversimodas satis lucide etexui."[3] *Etexo* appears to be an otherwise unknown verb, and perhaps Simon wrote *retexui* or *extexui*—both of which mean literally "I have unravelled"—and the scribe misread him: but neither word would be happily chosen here. Again, he advises anyone drafting a conveyance of land, whereby the feoffee covenants to provide maintenance for the feoffor, that this is a tricky matter and care must be exercised to avoid a blunder—"oportet huius carte compositorem se sagaciter precavere ne cespitet in eius forma"[4]—where *cespito* is hardly the verb we should expect. And then, to come to the last of the obvious obtrusions of unnecessary learning, Simon substitutes *repagulatus*[5] (from an otherwise unknown verb *repagulo*) for the popular *barratus*, meaning "barred" or "excluded." These conceits do not, however, amount to much and, for a vain man, their fewness testifies to his commonsense in teaching.

If now, having dismissed what, to modern eyes, are his extravagances, we turn to examine the contents of his book, we shall not have got very far before we find that, despite his claim to have refashioned the materials provided by his predecessors, Simon is giving his readers for page after page, little more than a direct translation of an anonymous French tract known to us as the *Old Tenures*. This tract was written in the latter part of the fourteenth century[6] and became a popular little manual for students of the common law. Whether it was already popular

[1] A., fo. 65*b*.

[2] A., fo. 69*b*: "per faceciam seu urbanitatem Anglicanam."

[3] A., fo. 78. It will be seen from n. 5 below that the scribe of A. is capable of dropping "r" from the beginning of a word he did not understand.

[4] A., fo. 92; H., fo. 48.

[5] A., fo. 97*b*, 98, reads "epagulatus," but H., fo. 51*b*, gives the correct reading.

[6] From references to Robert Thorp, chief justice of the Common Bench, 1356-71, and to Hilary term 46 Edward III, it is clear that it could not have been written before the closing years of Edward's reign, and it may have been written under Richard II.

when Simon recognised its worth and introduced it into his teaching at Oxford, early in the fifteenth century, it would be hard to say. But it was certainly popular under Edward IV, when Sir Thomas Littleton wrote the first two books of his own famous treatise to enable his son Richard better to understand certain chapters of the "ancient Book of Tenures"[1]: and it was one of the earliest books on English law to be printed, the first edition appearing before the end of the fifteenth century and many editions following in the sixteenth.[2] That it is "a very scanty tract[3]", and that it gives a very scrappy outline of the law of real property, may be true enough; but young students must begin with elementary teaching, and it is important to know that this was the kind of book recognised as suitable for them, before the age of printing, both by an Oxford teacher and by an experienced lawyer.

Apart from the matter he took from the *Old Tenures*, this work of Simon's could quite well be described, as he himself described it in his prologue, as a refashioning of the contents of the treatises of his predecessors. The predecessor he had chiefly in mind was, I think, Thomas Sampson, whom I have already mentioned, manuscript copies of whose works still survive in considerable numbers. Sampson was a popular teacher and writer, and his *cartaria* or *cartuaria* (for the work is spelled in both fashions) seems to have been in great demand. This is a collection of conveyancing precedents, methodically arranged, interspersed with *regulae* or instructions for their use and prefaced, as a rule, with a general introduction on the principles to be observed in drawing up charters, or deeds as we should say to-day. Probably no two surviving manuscripts are identical, but all begin with examples of the conveyance of the fee simple of a property and proceed to leases, mortgages, manumissions, bonds, and so forth, sometimes including a section on

[1] Littleton died in 1481, and he can hardly have written the treatise earlier than 1460: see E. Wambaugh's introduction to *Littleton's Tenures* (1903), pp. xlix, lix.

[2] See Beale, *Bibliography of Early English Law Books*, pp. 118-119, 203, and Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, II, 575. The first edition appears to be of the year 1495.

[3] Reeves, *History of the English Law* (1869), II, 439.

wills. The merit of such works depends, of course, both on the selection of the examples chosen as precedents and on the exposition which accompanies them. The general plan could not be greatly varied, since its purpose must necessarily be to provide for the more usual transactions in which landowners and townsfolk of substance would be involved, and their range in the Middle Ages was restricted.

The precedents chosen by Simon do not seem to have anything very remarkable about them, and it is his exposition that is of chief interest. The general form of his exposition suggests the lecture-room and the methods of a teacher who makes additions to his notes in the course of his teaching and never puts them into literary shape. "Propterea nota. . . . Et attamen nota. . . . Notare enim debes lector. . . . Et scias semper. . . . Nota eciam. . . . Ac eciam nota. . . ." I take these beginnings of sentences from no more than three small pages.[1] And although the reader is addressed, there can be little doubt that originally these notes were dictated to Simon's pupils. In a good many places his words seem to show that there was active discussion on nice points of law. It is possible, of course, that to some extent the differences of opinion he mentions are drawn from his reading; but I am inclined to think that Simon gleaned them in verbal discussion, and that these discussions can hardly have taken place elsewhere than at Oxford. "According to some," he says, "it is a good thing if the kind of service is clearly expressed in the charter, for otherwise the chief lord may perchance distrain for services other than those the feoffee is obliged to render."[2] Elsewhere he explains that, if a man endows his wife with the lands he will inherit from his father and then dies before his father, she will be entitled to a third part of those lands, and adds: "but nevertheless some say that unless she has this dowry in writing she will recover nothing."[3] Again, when he is dealing with the position of a tenant for life, he says: "according to some the tenant cannot withdraw from his estate while he lives, but according to others,

[1] A., fo. 67-68.

[2] A., fo. 89; H., fo. 46*b*: "Et apud quosdam bonum est. . . ."

[3] A., fo. 103*b*; H., fo. 55*b*: "Attamen quidam dicunt quod. . . ."

however, he can demise his estate without committing waste." [1] Similarly, when he turns to the lessee for a term of years, he says that the lessor can oust him when he pleases, " and according to some the lessee will have no remedy, except by these two writs *quare feoffator fregit convencionem* or *cum ejecit infra terminum*." [2] In another place he refers to the advice of the learned gained by experience.[3] Once he gives his personal opinion, when discussing the effect of the word " pertinenciis " in a conveyance, and whether an advowson or mill, a wood, meadow or the like, will pass without express words : " I say not in a grant by the king." [4]

Occasionally Simon is sufficiently explicit to enable us to identify the books on which he is relying. It is plain, from his frequent references, that he knew his statutes well and doubtless had a volume by him. He cites the case of Simon Paris and Robert Tony in a way that shows that he must have read it in a Year Book of 1 Edward II,[5] and his statement that William of Merton was responsible for the writ *quare ejecit infra terminum* is borrowed from a Register of Writs.[6] He refers by name to

[1] A., fo. 106*b* : " nec exire potest de tenura sua, secundum quosdam, dum vixerit : attamen, apud alios, bene potest tenuram dimittere absque vasto inde facto." This *regula* is missing from H. Simon returns to the subject later and again refers to two opinions (A., fo. 108 ; H., fo. 58*b*) : " set ipse tenens potest dimittere terminum suum cum sibi placuerit, secundum quosdam, secundum alios non."

[2] *Loc. cit.* : " et secundum quosdam non potest habere remedium nisi. . . ."

[3] A., fo. 87 ; H., fo. 45*b* : " et ideo expertum est peritorum consilium quod. . . ."

[4] A., fo. 84 ; H., fo. 44 : " Dico quod non in regia alienacione."

[5] " Ac eciam si villanus fugiat in antiquam regis tenuram et ibidem commoratur per annum et diem, vel in burgum privilegiatum, et hoc est intelligendum dummodo fuerit infra libertatem et procinctum illius dominii vel territorii, [he will be freed], set quamcito revenerit nativus in nidum suum dominus suus illum potest capere et inceppare, si contradixerit opera villenagia et advocabit dominus huiusmodi imprisonamentum, prout accidebat inter Simonem Parisiensem et dominum Robertum de T. anno regni regis Edwardi primo " (A., fo. 105 ; H., fo. 56*b*). Cf. *Year Books 1 and 2 Edward II* (Selden Soc.), pp. 11-12.

[6] " Istud breve inventum fuit et ordinatum per discretum virum Willelmum de Merton' causa fraudis et doli qui plerumque accidunt in feoffatore " (A., fo. 108 ; H., fo. 58*b*). Cf. fo. 227 of the printed *Registrum Brevium*. William is, of course, a mistake for Walter, which is found in early Registers, but not in still earlier ones, where the writ is attributed to William of Raleigh : see F. W. Maitland, *Collected Papers*, ii. 146, 160.

Britton,[1] to the *Natura Brevium*[2] and to the canonist John of Acton.[3] With the exception of the last, his works of reference were such as we should expect a common lawyer to have by him. They do not suggest an academic outlook or any contact with the civil and canon laws as they were taught at Oxford, but rather the reading of a practising lawyer concerned with the rough and tumble of the king's courts.

A description of Simon's works is a description also of an Oxford teacher, and a teacher of an unfamiliar type, although, as I have already indicated, I believe the type to have been common enough in the Middle Ages. Of Simon's fellows and predecessors I propose next to say something, in order that he may be seen in his proper setting. But before turning to them, there are a few words still to be said which concern Simon. Mr. Pantin has referred to the mystery of his name.[4] Alike in his treatise on *dictamen* and his treatise on conveyancing, he introduces his name in almost every conceivable place. But whereas other teachers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries supply, in similar manner, their names in full—Thomas Sampson, John of Bromley, William of Horbury, and so on—Simon remains Simon O. In two places in one of the two manuscripts which contain his treatise on conveyancing the name "Oseney" occurs, but this seems undoubtedly to be the name of a later scribe.[5] In the other manuscript a model deed introduces the name of Simon Offord of Brandon,[6] but this is a solitary instance and may be pure invention. Nothing has come to light which explains why he should refer to himself as "columbe filius,"

[1] A., fo. 84*b*; H., fo. 44: "ut luculencius patet in Britone." The reference is to book II, chapter 3 (I, 221-222 of F. M. Nichols' edition).

[2] A., fo. 89; H., fo. 46*b*: "ut in *Natura Brevium* satis liquet." The reference corresponds to fo. 31*b*-32 in the printed edition by Pynson *c.* 1510 (fo. 103*b*-104 in Tottel's edition of 1584), where the writ *contra formam feoffamenti* is given, with directions for its use.

[3] A., fo. 112*b*; H., fo. 64: "Nota quod secundum legem canonicam, et precipue secundum Iohannem Acton', nullus beneficiatus . . . valeat beneficium laicis ad firmam dimittere personis." The passage will be found at p. 20 of the Oxford edition of 1679.

[4] BULLETIN, xiii, 331.

[5] The name occurs at the end of the treatise (A., fo. 116*b*), but also at the end of a copy of an acquittance dated 20 April, 8 Edward IV, i.e., 1468 (fo. 232).

[6] H., fo. 65*b*.

as he does in his treatise on *dictamen*[1] : and so he must remain for us Simon O. until, as is possible, some fresh information about him can be drawn from some unidentified manuscript.

II.

The art of letter-writing as a distinct branch of learning was developed in Italy in the twelfth century, and in the first half of the thirteenth there came into prominence at the university of Bologna a group of *dictatores* who met with extraordinary success and whose text-books on the *ars dictaminis* were popular throughout Western Europe until the close of the Middle Ages.[2] They taught not only letter-writing but also how legal documents should be drafted—the *ars notaria*. By the second half of the thirteenth century the *ars dictaminis* had lost its pre-eminence at Bologna : the subject had exhausted itself, and it was hard to find anything to say that had not been effectively said by the great *dictatores* of the past.[3] The *ars notaria*, on the other hand, developed into a separate faculty.

The courses in these two arts were directed to fitting students for a business career, in the words of an American scholar " for a large variety of positions which in our day would range from that of a stenographer to a secretary of state."[4] Already in the

[1] BULLETIN, xiii, 334.

[2] For the origins see C. H. Haskins, " The early *artes dictandi* in Italy " in *Studies in Mediæval Culture*, pp. 170-192. For the later history, see the third chapter of L. J. Paetow's *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities, with special reference to Grammar and Rhetoric* (University of Illinois : University Studies, vol. III, no. 7.) See also H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre* (2nd ed.), ii, 247 ff., and Haskins, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

[3] Only one later Italian teacher, Laurence of Aquileia, attained any wide celebrity, and his career belongs as much to France as to Italy. His most popular work is a comprehensive systematising in tabular form of the modes of address, etc., to be used between correspondents of different ranks. It was well known in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Mr. Denholm-Young has listed five manuscripts of English provenance (*Oxford Essays in Mediæval History*, p. 97, where ? 1200 is presumably an error for *c.* 1300). Two other English manuscripts are Harl. 4993, fo. 4-6, and Trinity College, Cambridge, O. 5. 4, fo. 74*b*-79. In neither case has the work been identified in the catalogue, although it bears the name of the author, and it is probable that further investigation would reveal a good many more manuscripts of English origin.

[4] Paetow, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

twelfth century *dictatores* are found outside Italy. In France the school of Orleans became especially famous, and although no teacher of note seems to have been connected with Paris, the *ars dictaminis* was apparently being taught there very early. If *dictamen* was taught in England in the twelfth century, no certain record of it has yet come to light [1]: but that it was taught here early in the thirteenth century there can, as we shall see, be hardly any question. It has been stated, however, that there are no traces of the *ars notaria* at the mediæval universities of France and England.[2] Of the form in which that art was taught at Bologna, this seems true enough so far as England is concerned. For one thing, the legal system of this country was very different from that of Italy, and, for another, the notary was a late-comer here. In 1237 it was said by the legate Otho, who doubtless spoke with knowledge, that there were no notaries in England,[3] and though they were certainly here before the end of Henry III's reign and by the turn of the century were well established,[4] they never played the part that they did upon the Continent. Functions corresponding to those they performed abroad had, however, to be undertaken in England. The looseness and originality of twelfth-century deeds is in marked contrast to the growing uniformity and technicality of those of the thirteenth

[1] Paetow (*op. cit.*, p. 85) has taken the words of Giraldus Cambrensis, in his proem to the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, as referring to Paris: in this he has been followed by Mr. Denholm-Young (*op. cit.*, p. 72). The sole manuscript (Cotton. Tiberius B. XIII) has been damaged by fire: I quote what can be read there of the relevant passage (fo. 1), Brewer's text (*Opera*, iv, 3) being inaccurate. 'Quod nos quidem et coetani nostri, tempore seniori pariter et feliciori, donec non solum in trivio, verum eciam in auctoribus et philosophis, necnon et metricis et dictaminum studiis, massati plenius essemus et consummati xx. annorum . . . labore continuo. . . .' (One or two words after *annorum* cannot be recovered.) As it stands, this seems to leave the question open whether Gerald acquired his knowledge of *dictamen* in this country or in Paris or in both.

[2] Paetow, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[3] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 655.

[4] The earliest reference to a notary known to me is in the *Register of Archbishop Walter Giffard* (Surtees Soc.), p. 142: this is in 1268. Under Edward I they are found frequently in the royal service, both in the chancery and the household. Though there is plenty of evidence for their activities elsewhere, John of Acton's comments on Otho's constitutions indicate that they were not really numerous in the fourteenth century: see the Oxford edition of 1679, pp. 66-67. See also Denholm-Young, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

and later centuries, and expert guidance was necessary if the many legal transactions which required to be in writing were to be put in proper form. It is inconceivable that the necessary expertness could be acquired without formal instruction, and we can point to at least one place in England where this formal instruction was given, the University of Oxford.

There appear to be no more than three references to the *ars dictaminis* and the *dictatores* in the surviving mediæval statutes of the university, one prior to 1350, another prior to 1380, and a third in 1432.[1] In none of these instances are the *dictatores* mentioned by that name, and what we are told of them amounts to very little. Consequently for this aspect of university teaching we are almost wholly dependent upon the writings of the *dictatores* themselves. It is very rarely, if at all, that these have come down to us in the original form in which they were used at the university. They exist in later copies, altered and expanded, which found their way to monasteries or were used by clerks in the service of secular lords, sometimes perhaps, in the fifteenth century, by lawyers. Until comparatively recently these manuscripts have not greatly attracted the attention of scholars: very little of their contents has been put into print, and in many library catalogues the manuscripts themselves are not sufficiently described to make identification an easy matter. Consequently any one who tries to reconstruct the conditions reflected in the works of the Oxford *dictatores* can tell at best but a very incomplete story.

We may begin with some thirteenth century tracts, certain of which seem to have been written in the first half of the reign of Henry III. The earliest manuscript in which they are represented (British Museum, Additional 8167) appears to be an ordinary commercial production, which was acquired by William of Haseley, a monk of Westminster, who presented it to the Abbey about the year 1250.[2] This manuscript is made up of several originally independent sections, the one with which we are concerned occupying folios 88-135. The items of particular importance in the present connexion are: (*a*) a tract

[1] S. Gibson, *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, pp. 20, 169, 240.

[2] *Bulletin Inst. Historical Research*, xiii. 135.

containing elementary rules for letter-writing, followed by lists of words associated with the various mediæval trades (fo. 88-90);[1] (*b*) a collection of model deeds (fo. 90*b*-95); (*c*) a tract on letter-writing, with rules and examples (fo. 97-105); (*d*) a register of writs (fo. 107-113); (*e*) a tract on accounting (fo. 131*b*-133). Let us note that these are all of English provenance; that in the second tract there are model forms bearing the dates 1220 and the 4th and 13th years of Henry III[2] and a copy of a charter of Alexander II of Scotland referring to a council held in 1218;[3] that the last tract relates to accounts extending from 6 to 12 Henry III[4]; that the original behind the register of writs was compiled before 1236;[5] and that the examples in the third item include letters devised for students at Oxford.[6] Interspersed among these five items are two other collections of model letters (fo. 105-107 and fo. 125*b*-131*b*), the second including a number of students' letters couched in general terms, three groups of ecclesiastical precedents (fo. 95*b*-97, 114-119, 124*b*-125*b*), the largest of them relating to Oxford and the diocese of Lincoln during the pontificate of Honorius III (1216-1227),[7] and a table of numerals—cardinal, ordinal, distributive and adverbs—in Latin (fo. 113-114): two letters of Gregory IX, dated 1232, have been copied on fo. 122-124*b*,[8] and there have been added on the two last leaves of the section, but apparently

[1] Printed in *Neues Archiv*, iv (1879), pp. 339-343.

[2] The 30th year from the coronation of Henry III is mentioned on fo. 95, but this seems to be a later modification.

[3] *Bulletin Inst. Historical Research*, xi, 148.

[4] This is the earliest tract of the kind that has come to light: see N. Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration in England*, p. 121, where some extracts are given.

[5] *Law Quarterly Review*, liv, 395.

[6] One of these has been printed by C. H. Haskins, *Studies in Mediæval Culture*, p. 10. I hope to deal elsewhere with these students' letters as a whole.

[7] The first and third are actually parts of one collection of ecclesiastical precedents connected with Cambridge, dating from the pontificate of Gregory IX (1227-1241). A better text of this collection is found in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 297: see below.

[8] Both relate to the attack on two papal messengers, one of whom was killed: the first ("Angustias et labores"), addressed to the archbishop of York, dated 5 June, is not noted by Potthast: the second, addressed to the king, dated 7 June (Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 8945) is printed in *Foedera*, i, 203-204.

before it came to Westminster, two documents of 1246—the grievances of the English kingdom presented at the Council of Lyons and the letter to Innocent IV from the English religious houses.[1] Upon this evidence we can have no doubt that the nucleus of this collection was put together at Oxford, not later than the thirties, and possibly in the twenties, of the thirteenth century.

Certain items in the collection appear again in a manuscript written, as we shall see, in the seventies of the thirteenth century by (or for) a married clerk, Robert Carpenter, who came from the Isle of Wight, where he was employed by a prominent local family, and who may also have been employed by Roger Thurkelby, a royal judge.[2] Carpenter had access to a version of the tract on letter-writing (*a*), a tract on conveyancing more elaborate than (*b*), a later version of the second tract on letter-writing (*c*), and the tract on accounting (*e*). We should note also that he possessed an elementary tract on procedure in ecclesiastical and secular courts. It is quite certain, however, that he was unacquainted with the manuscript presented by William of Haseley to Westminster or any manuscript resembling it: the divergences are too many to permit any such supposition. What is plain is that the material underlying Haseley's book had been reshaped before Carpenter had knowledge of it. In the first tract on letter-writing (pp. 255-264) there are differences in nearly every line. The second tract on letter-writing (pp. 265-301) has been elaborated and recast: two successive re-fashionings seem to be indicated by the names of the pope, Alexander IV (1254-1261), and of the archbishop of Canterbury, Boniface (1245-1270), on the one hand, and, on the other, by the names of the king of France, Philip III (1270-1285), and of

[1] The text of the grievances differs slightly from that in Cole, *Documents illustrative of English History*, p. 353, and Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, iv, 527-528. For the letter, see *ibid.*, pp. 531-533.

[2] Caius College 205. It has been described by Mr. N. Denholm-Young in "Robert Carpenter and the Provisions of Westminster," *English Historical Review*, 1, 22-35. While accepting his main conclusions, I find it impossible to follow Mr. Denholm-Young on some points of detail. For the tract on accounting and its adaptation by Carpenter, see Mr. Denholm-Young's *Seignorial Administration in England*, pp. 121-122.

the chief justice of the king of England, Gilbert Preston.[1] The king of England is named Henry III, and this accords with a note elsewhere in the manuscript (p. 231), which refers to Henry as still reigning.[2] From this second tract on letter-writing the students' letters have disappeared: possibly Robert Carpenter did not think them sufficiently useful to be worth copying. But the Oxford connexion is shown by the model salutation (p. 275) provided for letters written by a son to his father: "Reverendo patri suo ac domino R., archytectori prudentissimo, suus R. studium Oxonie exercens continuum, si placet, salutem et filialem in omnibus obedienciam."

Let us turn next to a manuscript written at Thorney Abbey, a generation or so later, by the precentor, John Britton.[3] Here again we find (fo. 135*b*-138) the first tract on letter-writing (*a*) in a form nearer to that in Haseley's book than that in Carpenter's book, as well as (fo. 123*b*-127) a collection of model deeds closely similar to (*b*) and also (fo. 93*b*-114*b*) the second tract on letter-writing (*c*) in what appears to be a later recension than Carpenter's.[4] There are two registers of writs, one of which is closely related to that in Haseley's book (fo. 114*b*-123), and, intermixed with the second tract on letter-writing, a collection of ecclesiastical precedents also similar to one in Haseley's book[5] (fo. 98*b*-101 and 111*b*-113*b*), an elementary tract on pro-

[1] It is uncertain when Preston was first so entitled. He seems to have been presiding in the Common Bench from Michaelmas 1260 to the end of 1267 (Maitland, *Bracton's Note Book*, iii, 144-145: cf. Curia Regis Rolls nos. 169-173A, 176), but was apparently not thereafter employed in either bench until 1273 when, for a year, he was chief justice of the Common Bench (Sayles, *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench*, i, xliii, xliv, cxxxv). The implication, however, of Carpenter's tract is that Preston was chief justice under Henry III.

[2] Robert Carpenter died in 1280, so that his manuscript must have been written between that year and the end of 1270. It is not impossible, of course, that the transcription of this tract took place after the death of Henry III, but the tract, in the form it had assumed when Carpenter acquired it, can hardly be later than 1272.

[3] Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 297. For a description of the other contents see M. R. James, *Catalogue*, ii. 76-79.

[4] There are, however, many differences. The pope appears to be Gregory X (1271-1276) and the archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Kilwardby (1273-1278): but Boniface is also found as archbishop.

[5] See above. The papal mandate upon which the action is founded is dated 29th April, 1235.

cedure in ecclesiastical and secular courts, beginning in similar fashion to Carpenter's tract on this subject but differing in substance, an early version of the chapters of the eyre, a model will, and precedents for deeds.

It is, I think, quite clear from the contents of these three manuscripts, especially when we have regard to later evidence of a similar character, that collections of little tracts on letter-writing, conveyancing, accounting and elementary legal procedure circulated in England, at least from the earlier part of Henry III's reign, and that they had their origin in Oxford. We need not be surprised if sometimes the element we may think most typical of the university, the model students' letters, were dropped when these tracts were copied, for we must expect the omission of what was least useful, as well as adaptations and additions, to fit the material for the practical purposes of the owner.[1]

From early in the reign of Edward I there comes a collection in a form of which we find many similar examples in the fourteenth century. The first item in this collection is a tract on conveyancing, with model deeds which frequently mention Oxford : there are some forms of bonds and wills, followed without a break, by forms of letters, chiefly on ecclesiastical business, but including one letter from a student at Oxford to his father. The second item is a treatise on accounting with the date 1274, and the third a tract " de placitis et curiis tenendis." All three tracts are in the same hand and written on the same gathering of twelve leaves.[2] The author of the first tract gives his name, John of Oxford, and it is plain that he could not have been writing earlier than 1280 nor probably very much later. That he was responsible in some way for the other tracts is very likely : perhaps he wrote them or perhaps he used them in his teaching.

[1] We can see something of the process when we compare Robert Carpenter's book with the manuscript derived from it, Cambridge University Library, Mm. i. 27 : see Mr. Denholm-Young's analysis in *English Historical Review*, l. 34-35.

[2] Cambridge University Library, Ee. i. 1, fo. 225-236. This has been described by F. W. Maitland, and the first item summarised in " A Conveyancer of the Thirteenth Century," *Collected Papers*, ii, 190-204. He again described the manuscript and printed the third item in *The Court Baron* (Selden Soc.), pp. 11-13, 68-78.

I need mention but in passing a "tractatus de litterarum composicione" unquestionably of Oxford origin,[1] the contents of which are purely ecclesiastical and include an interesting letter of Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln, dated 12th March, 1289, threatening excommunication against those members of the university who infringe the bishop's jurisdiction: this tract cannot be earlier than 1307. From the reign of Edward II, and probably from the year 1311, there comes a collection of model deeds,[2] which also needs but a brief reference; it has no introduction and contains few *regulae*: there are indications that it was written in Oxford, and the tract was sufficiently regarded to be copied with later tracts of Oxford origin in the middle of the fifteenth century.

With the reign of Edward III we come to Thomas Sampson, whose long life stretches probably from the first year of that reign, or even earlier, to nearly the end of the reign of Henry IV. Of Sampson we know more than of any other Oxford *dictator*, chiefly because he tells us so much of himself in his numerous writings, but partly because Oxford records are more plentiful in the fourteenth century than they are in the thirteenth. Any adequate account of him would fill an article longer than this present one, and what is necessary to be said of him must be said briefly.[3] Like his predecessors he taught the arts of letter-writing and conveyancing and gave elementary instruction in legal procedure and accounting. A notable difference is that much of his teaching was in French, and that certain of his pupils were under the necessity of learning that language in order to profit by his instruction. It would be rash to suppose that he was the first Oxford teacher who used French in this way, for one of the tracts he employed to teach correct French usage, as

[1] Cambridge Univ. Library, Dd. vii. 6, fo. 20*b*-23*b*.

[2] Harl. 274, fo. 13-29. A number of examples are dated 4 Edward II and no other year is mentioned. This tract follows a "tractatus de proprietatibus et circumstanciis cartarum et scriptorum," by one Richard of Ortham, which seems to be a fifteenth-century work.

[3] Dr. I. D. O. Arnold has given some account of his teaching in *Medium Aevum*, vi, 193-209. This is not, I think, entirely accurate: but I hope to deal with Sampson's career and writings elsewhere, and for this reason I give few references.

it was understood in England—the *Orthographia Gallica*—exists in a manuscript of the early fourteenth century, written at the end of a register of writs.[1] Though nothing can be said for certain of the origin of this manuscript, it is quite possible that it belonged to an Oxford teacher.

Another point to be remarked is that in his exposition of letter-writing in Latin, Sampson incorporates the rules of the *cursus* and other matter which he borrowed from Italian *dictatores*.[2] At an earlier period students seem to have gone direct to the original treatises, and in particular to those of Guido Faba: Haseley's volume, for example, contains several tracts by Guido.[3] Advanced students undoubtedly continued to consult the works of the Bolognese and Orleanist masters, but those with a humbler aim would be content with what they could get at second hand from their Oxford teachers. As we have seen, the author of *Regina sedens Rhetorica* drew upon some Orleanist master, and this is also true of Simon O. himself.

Further into the details of Sampson's writings I need not enter, but I may say something of the man and his pupils. He was a married man and lived with his wife, Isabel, in modest prosperity in Oxford, outside the city-wall. He was evidently well regarded and seems to have been employed as clerk by the university: he was certainly employed to write letters by University College.[4] But this was casual employment and not a livelihood, and the fact is of interest chiefly as giving us some idea of his standing. Sampson's main profession was to train young men in business methods—to write letters, to keep accounts and to do miscellaneous legal work for landowners of substance. The elementary nature of certain of the school-books he used suggests that some of his pupils came to him very young and boarded with him: others would be full-grown men. He did not take part in any teaching of the university which led to a

[1] This is among the Cooper Manuscripts in the Library of Lincoln's Inn: it has no press mark. This text of the *Orthographia Gallica* has been printed three times, on the last occasion in *The Eyre of Kent* (Selden Soc.), ii, xliii-li.

[2] Denholm-Young in *Oxford Essays in Mediæval History*, pp. 81-82, 100-101.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

[4] I owe this information to Dr. H. E. Salter, who discovered the reference in the College accounts for 1382-1383.

degree ; but he was one of the class known as grammar-masters, and our knowledge of him helps us to understand the three passages in the surviving mediæval statutes of the university, to which I have already referred, just as the statutes help us to place him in the mediæval university.

The earliest statute, which comes from a date before 1350, required regent masters in grammer to be examined, before licence, as to their competence in *dictamen*[1] : subsequently this requirement was extended to teachers who were not regent masters.[2] The later statute, which is dated 1432, was aimed at submitting to discipline those students who, having been taught no more than their grammar, were learning such subjects as writing, Latin composition (*ars dictandi*), French, the drafting of deeds and how to keep lay courts and plead in the English manner. The university did not provide teaching in such subjects, and these special students were required to attend the ordinary lectures given in grammar and rhetoric, to which such subjects were most akin.[3] With these statutes we may link another, that comes from before 1380, which limits the fees that grammar-masters might charge, except where they had made arrangements with a pupil to give him special instruction.[4] Now we know both that Sampson taught such special subjects as the statute of 1432 mentions and that they were a matter of special bargains between him and his private pupils. There can be no question, therefore, that a grammar-master was expected from a very early date to be a competent *dictator*, although there were no ordinary lectures in the *ars dictandi*, and that the later statutes were aimed at grammar-masters and their pupils. In other words, it was the grammar-masters who undertook instruction in practical business methods, as applied, of course, to the great business of mediæval England—agriculture ; though this does not necessarily mean that all grammar-masters at Oxford undertook to instruct private pupils in accounting, conveyancing and legal procedure, or even in letter-writing.

Sampson, however, certainly had a number of imitators, who, even during his lifetime, do not seem to have hesitated to

[1] Gibson, *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, p. 20.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 169. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 240. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

appropriate his textbooks and adopt them as their own.[1] In the fifteenth century certain of his works were passed off as the products of other men, although the only change might be the substitution of the name of the later teacher—for example, John of Bromley[2] or William of Horbury[3]—for Thomas Sampson. Sometimes there might be more extensive revision, as when William Kingsmill wrote a new introduction to one of Sampson's *cartuariae* and inserted some fresh forms.[4] Those who adopted or adapted Thomas Sampson's work in this way were doubtless of the same status, and engaged in the same kind of teaching, as he. But it is improbable that all Oxford *dictatores* were of a like kind or attracted the same class of pupils. French seems to have been employed as a medium of instruction only when the pupil was insufficiently equipped with Latin[5] and some pupils even required to be instructed in French. Now there is no indication that Simon O. used French in his teaching, for had he done so we should have expected French versions to accompany his model letters, such as we find in some of Sampson's collections. It may, of course, be that this absence of French is accidental, and that manuscripts containing French versions by Simon have not survived or have not been identified: we know too little of him perhaps even to justify a guess. It seems, however, in any case, impossible to place the Benedictine Thomas Merke, bishop *in partibus*, in the same category as the married grammar-master. That Merke taught *dictamen* at Oxford is highly probable, but his regular lectures were presumably in theology.[6] Perhaps he taught the art of letter-writing to monk

[1] He says that he has seen " meas cartuarias per diversos informatores nequiter transmutari " (B.M. Lansdowne 560, fo. 43*b*).

[2] Harl. 4993, fo. 25-34. [3] Harl. 773, fo. 16-18.

[4] Royal 12 B., XXIV, fo. 227-261*b*; Addl. 17716, fo. 52-87*b*; Cambridge University Library, Dd. v. 46.

[5] In one place Sampson himself says " je ferray la prologue devant en francais a cause qe lez escolers, qi sont si tenuement lettres, purront le pluys legerement entendre les reulez en fraunceys q'en latyn " (B.M. Lansdowne 560, fo. 30).

[6] He seems to have incepted in 1394, after no more than two years at Oxford (Pearce, *Monks of Westminster*, p. 116). In the autumn of that year he was with Richard II in Ireland (Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, iii, 490). A close companion of the king's and bishop of Carlisle in 1397, we can certainly find no time for his teaching at Oxford before his translation to a non-existent see in Persia in 1400 (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 395, 504). He may well

students,[1] for we have evidence that suggests that Cistercian scholars learned the *ars dictaminis* at Oxford, although their main business was theology.[2] We must remember that *dictamen* was an " extra " subject, for which the university as such made no provision, and that it was useful to students who intended to follow very different careers and whose status in the university would also be very different.

There is so much to learn of the Oxford *dictatores* that we cannot be very explicit when we seek to relate any one of them to the circumstances of his own time and to the history of mediæval education. That it is important that we should know more about them cannot be questioned, for the *dictatores* were a link, perhaps the most important link, between the university and the world of affairs. Let us for a moment consider the impressions a young man would receive who came to Oxford to learn how to conduct the business of an agricultural estate and found himself in the ferment of the Lollard movement. Half-educated as he might be, he was still a clerk and matriculated, a member of the university, not living segregated and apart. The immense influence of Wyclif and his successors was felt as much, if not more, by those with little learning as by those with much ; and the chances were that young men such as this would sympathise with the reformers and, when they found employment, would aid, actively or passively, in the spread of Lollardry throughout the country. The contribution of these men can be but a matter of speculation : that they were untouched by the currents of Oxford opinion, and without influence in spreading it abroad, is impossible.

have been teaching, as he is stated to have done, in the early years of the fifteenth century (BULLETIN, xiii, 329 n.). It is suggested, however, in 1404, when he was granted an indult to farm his benefices, that he was engaged " in the study of letters " (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 619). He was in Italy in 1408 and dead by 1409.

[1] The *dilectissimus frater*, to whom his treatise on *dictamen* is addressed, is doubtless a fellow monk. For this treatise, see Denholm-Young in *Oxford Essays in Mediæval History*, pp. 81-82, 100. One of the manuscripts in which the work occurs (Harl. 5398) is unquestionably the book of an Oxford theologian *c.* 1433.

[2] On this point I may refer to an article to appear in a forthcoming volume of the Oxford Historical Society.

This is, however, no more than by way of illustrating what may be involved when we commence to unravel the tangled threads of history. We begin with a work on *dictamen* from a period when artificiality and bad taste were working the ruin which, within a generation or two, overtook the art: there is seemingly very little in it to interest any but the few who are concerned with the *minutiae* of mediæval scholarship. But we find that the author of that work was also the author of a practical treatise on conveyancing. This, too, may seem dull in itself, but the two works in conjunction tell us a good deal more of the writer than the sum of each by itself: they enable us to link him with other Oxford teachers and, what is more important, with a class of Oxford student of whom extremely little has been known. It is by continuing the process of matching together different works by one author and similar works by different authors that we may hope to recover a lost chapter in the history of English education. This chapter is likely to prove of great importance, for it will disclose the manner in which the clerks were trained upon whom was placed the responsibility for the effective management of much of the land of England. In close contact with lords and knights upon the one hand and with the peasantry upon the other, in sympathy with the parish clergy by reason of their common status and sometimes by reason of past associations, these clerks, though politically insignificant and of meagre attainments, are yet a class to be reckoned with in the spread of ideas and the development of culture.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS FROM THE SEMITIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

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VI.

The Astronomical Tables and Calendar of the Samaritans.

THAT the apparent movements of the sun and moon in the heavens were "for signs and for seasons and for days and years" [1] was early recognised by the Hebrews. In the history of the Jewish Calendar it is customary to distinguish three periods, Biblical, Talmudic and post-Talmudic. In the first the new moons were determined by observation, in the second by observation supplemented by calculation, in the third by calculation. It is a safe assumption that the Samaritan Calendar had a parallel development. New moons and festivals had great significance in the religions of both. It was consequently all important not only that the time of the new moon should be known but that it should be certified by the highest religious authority.

For both Jews and Samaritans, since they appealed to the same Law, the Feast of the Passover was due to commence at even on the fourteenth day of Abib, and, moreover, it was to be observed at the same season of the year as that which saw its institution. The proper season for keeping Passover was the full moon of the vernal equinox, or in astronomical language after the sun had entered the sign Aries.[2] Consequently it

[1] Gen. i, 14.

[2] "In the month of Xanthicus, which is by us called Nisan and is the beginning of our year, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries, for in this month it was that we were delivered from bondage under the

was incumbent on them to relate lunar and solar reckonings. The beginning of the use of astronomical calculations by the Jews is placed by some scholars at least as early as the advent of the Christian era. Popular tradition has it that the rivalries of Jews and Samaritans compelled its adoption. The Law laid down no directions for determining the new moon and consequently its fourteenth day. That full moon was fixed for the fourteenth day showed that the time was calculated from the appearance of the rim of the moon. The conjunction of sun and moon takes place rather more than a day earlier, so that between conjunction and full moon there is a space of fifteen, indeed nearly sixteen, days. Actual observation was evidently then the method implied by the Law and was the one practised by the Jews after the Return. Great care was exercised and watchers appear to have been stationed on the summits of the highest hills in the vicinity of Jerusalem to give prompt intimation of the first appearance of the moon's rim. As soon as it became visible they lighted fires the smoke of which could be seen from the city.

The astronomer Al-Bīrūnī tells us how the Jews came to rely on calculations rather than observation, and to reckon the new moon from the time of conjunction. "Regarding their knowledge of the beginning of the month and the mode in which it is computed and used, the Jews are divided into two sects, one of which are the Rabbanites. They derive the beginning of the month by means of calculation from the mean motions of the two luminaries (sun and moon), no regard being had as to whether new moon is visible already or not. For it was their object to have a conventional time that was to begin from the conjunction of sun and moon. By the following accident they were, as they relate themselves, induced to adopt this system. At the time when they returned to Jerusalem they posted guards upon the tops of the mountains to observe new moon, and they ordered them to light a fire and to make a smoke which was to be a signal for them that new moon in fact had been seen.

Egyptians, the Law ordained that every year we should slay that sacrifice . . . which was called the Passover." Josephus, *Antiquities*, III, x, 5 (tr. W. Whiston).

Now on account of the enmity which existed between them and the Samaritans these latter went and sent up the smoke from the mountain one day before new moon was seen. This practice they continued during several months at the beginning of which heaven always happened to be clouded. Finally people in Jerusalem found out this, observing that new moon on the third and fourth of the month rose above the horizon from the east. Hence it was evident that the Samaritans had deceived them. Therefore they had recourse to the scholars of their time in order to be protected by a system of calculation against the deceitful practices of their enemies to which they were exposed by their present method."[1] He goes on to say that in order to prove that it was legally permitted to have a system of calculation they referred to the duration of the Deluge when Noah must have fixed the beginning of the month by calculation since heaven was covered and clouded for so long during which time neither new moon nor any other phase of the moon could be observed. The mathematicians, therefore, computed for them the cycles, and taught them how to find by calculation the conjunctions and the appearances of the new moon, and that between new moon and conjunction the time of seventy-four hours must elapse. This reform was brought about, he adds, nearly two hundred years after Alexander.

Thus the Jewish Calendar based on astronomical calculations was already taking shape according to Al-Bīrūnī before the Christian era. In the third century Samuel, surnamed Yarḥinai because of his familiarity with the movements of the moon, compiled at his home in Nehardea in Babylonia, a calendar for sixty years. In the following century the patriarch Hillel II, basing on the work of Samuel, published rules for calendar computation which had hitherto been kept secret.

It is not to be supposed that the Samaritans learned to make use of astronomical readings earlier than the Jews, nor that they learned them later from the Jews. While it may be assumed that the Jews had Greek astronomers for their teachers, the dependance of the Samaritans on Arab astronomers can be

[1] C. E. Sachau, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, an English version of the Arabic text of the Athār al-Bāqiyah of Al-Bīrūnī (London, 1879), pp. 67 f.

demonstrated from their astronomical tables. But Muslim astronomical science came into prominence much later. It took its rise in the eighth century under Indian influence when astronomical treatises with their numerous tables of celestial movements were brought from India to the court at Baghdad. To these were added the Pehlawi tables compiled in the last period of the Sasanian empire. The Greek influence came late into Arab astronomy, but in order of importance it must be given the foremost place. The Almagest[1] of Ptolemy appeared in Arabic at the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. It was followed by translations of other works such as the hand tables of Theon of Alexandria, the astronomical works of Aristarchus, Autolycus, Theodosius and Hypsicles, and the tables of Ammonius. The most brilliant period of Muslim astronomy began with the ninth century in the caliphate of Al-Mā'mūn with the observatory at Baghdad as centre where systematic observations were made and the Greek calculations verified and improved upon. Within the next two centuries appeared such famous astronomers as Yaḥyā b. Abi Manṣūr and Al-Khwārizmī at Baghdad, Al-Battānī at Raqqa on the Euphrates, Al-Bīrūnī at Ghazna in Afghanistan, Ibn Yunus in Egypt, and in the twelfth century, Al-Khāzinī at Naisābūr.

"Muslim astronomers accepted almost without reserve and always followed in their tables the fundamental features of the Ptolemaic system of the universe. The earth stands absolutely motionless in the centre of the universe; the movements of the celestial bodies are all circular and uniform and their apparent irregularities are explained by the combination of circles concentric with the zodiac, eccentric circles, and epicycles. . . . They perceived that the apogee of the sun, believed to be immobile by the ancients, is subject to the movement of the precession of the equinoxes. Al-Zarḳālī even succeeded in discovering the slight movement peculiar to this apogee. They perceived that the obliquity of the ecliptic is not invariable as the Greeks had asserted it to be on the grounds of fictitious observations, but is subject to a slow secular diminution whose approximate limits only our celestial mechanics of the eighteenth

[1] Almagest may perhaps be an Arabicised form of ἡ μεγίστη.

century has naturally been able to determine. The elements of the sun, and partly also of the moon, the length of the tropical and sidereal year, the precession of the equinoxes they investigated with marvellous accuracy." [1]

On the subject of the new moon in which, of course, the Samaritan priests were specially interested, Al-Bīrūnī (11th cent.) could write: "Astronomers are well aware that the appearance of the new moon does not proceed regularly according to one and the same rule for several reasons; the motion of the moon varies, being sometimes slower, sometimes faster; she is sometimes near the earth, sometimes far distant; she ascends in north and south and descends in them; and each single one of these occurrences may take place on every point of the ecliptic, and, besides, some sections of the ecliptic sink faster, others slower. All this varies according to the different latitudes of the countries and according to the difference of the atmosphere." [2]

Such were the teachers of the Samaritans in things astronomical. Whether the Samaritans first turned to astronomical calculations when they came under Islamic rule, or whether they had some earlier form of such which they abandoned in favour of the Muslim, we have no means of deciding. It is certain, however, that the Samaritan astronomical tables are in close correspondence with the more advanced Muslim systems. A cursory inspection suggests close approximation to the tables of Al-Battānī [3] and Al-Khwārizmī [4] (9th cent.). We know that Al-Battānī exercised considerable influence on the astronomical studies of the Jews. Whether his works were translated into Hebrew cannot be established, but they appear to have been well known to Jews writing in Hebrew from the twelfth century on. Thus Abraham bar Ḥiyya and Abraham ibn Ezra praised his work, and C. H. Slominski, in his Hebrew work *Yesōdē ha-'Ibbūr* maintains that the Jewish year whose invention is attributed to Rabbi Adda bar Ahabah was the solar year of

[1] C. A. Nallino, article on Astronomy in *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

[2] Sachau, *l.c.* p. 77.

[3] *Al-Battani Opus Astronomicum*, ed. C. A. Nallino, Milan, 1903.

[4] H. Sutar, *Die Astronomischen Tafeln das M. ibn Musa Al-Kwarizmi . . .*, Copenhagen, 1914.

Al-Battānī.[1] One of the treatises of Abraham bar Ḥiyya ha-Nasi' (12th cent.), called *Lūḥōth ha-Nasī'* was also known as "The Tables of Al-Battani," because the author followed that astronomer.

It is not surprising that the priesthoods of both Jews and Samaritans made a secret of their astronomical calculations. The monopoly of fixing new moons and festivals preserved in their hands great power over their communities. The wide dispersion of the Jews from the time of Alexander made communication from Jerusalem by signal or messenger inadequate for the purpose. Yet the Sanhedrin preferred to allow the distant Jewish communities in Egypt and Babylon to celebrate two days instead of one rather than suffer them to make calculations of their own. Only the public spirit of Hillel II in publishing for others to use the methods and means of calculation of the new moons wrested this power from the Sanhedrin's unwilling hands. According to the Jews the secret of the Calendar came to them from Moses. According to the Samaritan belief, which supports itself on Genesis i, 14, the Calendar dates back to Creation and was revealed to Adam by God. Moses proclaimed it in fixing the first month to be that of the Passover, and astronomical computation came with Phinehas, son of Eleazar, who made his calculations on Mt. Gerizim shortly after the entry of the children of Israel into the land of Canaan. Ever since the seventeenth century, when Western scholars made contact with the Samaritans, repeated attempts have been made to induce them to reveal their secrets. Almost every letter of these correspondents made inquiries on the point of their calendar. The letter of Salamah, son of Tabiah, to Silvestre de Sacy in 1820 is typical of their replies.

> "You inquire, my brother, if we regulate our new moons by observation or by calculation. Know, my brother, that the new moons and all the feasts are determined according to a [system of] calculation which we possess, and which was made by Phinehas for the latitude of Mt. Gerizim. We preserve the manuscript of this book and every six months we

[1] See article "Calendar" in *Jewish Encyclopædia*.

deduce from it the rules which determine the new moons and the festivals and we send them out through Israel. We know also the moment when the dragon will attack the two stars with the hours, minutes, years in an exact manner. You ask if we have astronomical tables. We have no others than those of which we have just spoken." [1]

The explanations offered covered only in a very general way the uses of their Calendar. No explanation was vouchsafed on the method of operation, nor how they "deduced the rules" from the astronomical tables of Phinehas. They were probably suspicious of these prying inquiries by Christians. An entry written on the flyleaf of a codex in the Rylands Library by Amram b. Salamah, the mathematician, suggests this. After giving some elementary rules for the use of those embarking on the study of their astronomical science, he proceeds: "It was my intention to make further explanation, but I was fearful of the Christians. . . . This knowledge is a heritage of the priests. It must not go forth ever, and he who reveals it will be excommunicate and a thwarter of the petition. 'May the Lord increase the Levites, who bear the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, for this knowledge is restricted to them and is not for others.'" [2] Unlike the Jews the Samaritan priests never surrendered their secret. Whilst their astronomical tables which have fallen into Western hands, reveal by their headings the nature of their contents, no clue was ever furnished as to how they made use of these tables to calculate the monthly conjunction of sun and moon. The process of unravelling this mystery, the results of which are here offered, has been consequently a slow and laborious one.

Astronomical Tables.[3]

The Samaritan astronomical tables are here published for the first time. They consist of five sets of tables, dealing with

[1] S. de Sacy, *Correspondance des Samaritains de Naplouse* (*Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi . . .*) XII (1831), p. 35.

[2] See *Catalogue of the Samaritan MSS. in the John Rylands Library*, 1938, pp. xxxiv, f.

[3] There are three Codices (XXIII, XXIV and XXV) and a manuscript (XXVI) in the Rylands Library containing these tables. They differ only in

movements of sun, of moon, vagaries of moon, movement of the *nodus borealis*, corrections of sun and moon. In Table I the movements of the sun in ten year periods, in years less than ten, in months, days and hours, are set forth. In Tables II, III, and IV corresponding details are given for the moon, vagaries of the moon, and for the *nodus borealis*. In Table V "corrections" are supplied for the position of sun and moon. These are given in degrees, or, as the Samaritans tabulate it, in zodiacal divisions and degrees. In this Table the corrections for degrees and for their complements to 360° are the same. Thus the correction for 1° is the same as for 359° and so forth. Consequently in Table V corrections have to be supplied for all degrees up to 180.

The tables are made out in respect of the Yazdajirdian (Persian) solar year and era. The Persian year had twelve months each of thirty days with the intercalation of a month at the requisite intervals. The columns are to be read from right to left. The heading of the first column of the first four Tables reads שני · העקר · ליזדגרד "years of the era of Yazdajird." We have merely indicated this by Yazd. Above the second column are the words שני · העקר · למושב · בני · ישראל · ארץ · כנען "years of the era of the Indwelling of the Children of Israel in the land of Canaan." This is indicated by Can. The other column headings are

מגדלים "signs of the zodiac," indicated by zod., and above numbers by a superposed ᶻ.
דרגים "degrees," indicated by deg., and above numbers by °.
דקים "minutes"; min., and superposed ′.
שנים "seconds"; sec., and superposed ″.

As there were twelve signs of the zodiac, each represented 30° of the ecliptic circle. The table of measurement is thus 60 seconds = 1 minute; 60 minutes = 1 degree; 30 degrees = 1 zodiacal division. To facilitate comparison with the facsimiles, the arrangement of the numbers is made the same as in the original tables. This means an inversion of the order as we are accustomed to it.

the ten-year periods chosen in the two eras. We follow here Codex XXII. Tables I (i) and I (ii) of it are given in facsimile (Plate I).

TABLE I (i).

תוך · הלכת · השמש · בקבצות · והנטהות · והחדשים

Table of Movements of the Sun in Tens and Units (of Years) and Months.

For One Year.					For Ten-Year Periods.				Eras.	
Sec.	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*	*Sec.*	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*Can.*	*Yazd.*
43	44	29	11	1	6	35	13	5	3380[1]	1110
26	29	29	11	2	16	2	11	5	3390	1120
9	14	29	11	3	26	29	8	5	3400	1130
52	58	28	11	4	36	56	5	5	3410	1140
35	43	28	11	5	46	23	3	5	3420	1150
18	28	28	11	6	56	50	0	5	3430	1160
1	13	28	11	7	6	18	28	4	3440	1170
44	57	27	11	8	16	45	25	4	3450	1180
27	42	27	11	9	26	12	23	4	3460	1190
10	27	27	11	10	36	39	20	4	3470	1200
					46	6	18	4	3480	1210
					56	33	15	4	3490	1220
Months.					6	1	13	4	3500	1230
Sec.	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*	16	28	10	4	3510	1240
5	34	29	0	1	26	55	7	4	3520	1250
10	8	29	1	2	36	22	5	4	3530	1260
16	42	28	2	3	46	49	2	4	3540	1270
21	16	28	3	4	56	16	0	4	3550	1280
26	50	27	4	5	6	44	27	3	3560	1290
31	24	27	5	6	16	11	25	3	3570	1300
36	58	26	6	7	26	38	22	3	3580	1310
41	32	26	7	8	36	5	20	3	3590	1320
47	6	26	8	9	46	32	17	3	3600	1330
52	40	25	9	10	56	59	14	3	3610	1340
57	14	25	10	11	6	27	12	3	3620	1350
2	49	24	11	12	16	54	9	3	3630	1360

[1] It will be seen from the facsimile (Plate I) that the copyist by mistake wrote 3360 and 3370. He discovered his error and wrote the next number correctly, 3400.

PLATE L. FROM CODEX XXIII. (MIDDLE 18TH CENTURY). TABLES FOR AND FOR

TABLE I (ii).

Table of Movements of the Sun in Days and Hours.

Hours.					Days.				
Sec.	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*	*Sec.*	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*
28	2	0	0	1	8	59	0	0	1
56	4	0	0	2	16	58	1	0	2
24	7	0	0	3	24	57	2	0	3
52	9	0	0	4	33	56	3	0	4
19	12	0	0	5	41	55	4	0	5
47	14	0	0	6	49	54	5	0	6
15	17	0	0	7	57	53	6	0	7
43	19	0	0	8	5	53	7	0	8
10	21	0	0	9	13	52	8	0	9
35	24	0	0	10	22	51	9	0	10
6	27	0	0	11	30	50	10	0	11
34	29	0	0	12	38	49	11	0	12
2	32	0	0	13	46	48	12	0	13
30	34	0	0	14	54	47	13	0	14
58	36	0	0	15	2	47	14	0	15
25	39	0	0	16	11	46	15	0	16
53	41	0	0	17	19	45	16	0	17
21	44	0	0	18	27	44	17	0	18
49	46	0	0	19	35	43	18	0	19
17	49	0	0	20	43	42	19	0	20
45	51	0	0	21	51	41	20	0	21
12	54	0	0	22	59	40	21	0	22
40	56	0	0	23	8	40	22	0	23
8	59	0	0	24	16	39	23	0	24
16	1	1	0	25	24	38	24	0	25
4	4	1	0	26	32	37	25	0	26
32	6	1	0	27	40	36	26	0	27
0	9	1	0	28	49	35	27	0	28
28	11	1	0	29	57	34	28	0	29
55	13	1	0	30	5	34	29	0	30

TABLE II (i).

Movements of the Moon in Tens and Units (of Years) and Months.

Units.					Ten-Year Periods.				Eras.	
Sec.	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*	*Sec.*	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*Can.*	*Yazd.*
11	22	9	4	1	8	33	23	10	3380	1110
22	44	18	8	2	58	14	27	5	3390	1120
33	6	28	0	3	48	56	0	1	3400	1130
44	28	7	5	4	38	38	4	8	3410	1140
55	50	16	9	5	28	20	8	3	3420	1150
6	13	26	1	6	18	2	12	10	3430	1160
17	35	5	6	7	8	44	15	5	3440	1170
28	57	14	10	8	58	25	19	0	3450	1180
39	19	24	2	9	48	7	23	7	3460	1190
50	41	3	7	10	38	49	26	2	3470	1200
					28	31	0	10	3480	1210
					18	13	4	5	3490	1220
Months.					8	55	7	0	3500	1230
					58	36	11	7	3510	1240
Sec.	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*						
26	17	5	1	1	48	18	15	2	3520	1250
53	34	10	2	2	38	0	19	9	3530	1260
19	52	15	3	3	28	42	22	4	3540	1270
46	9	21	4	4	18	24	26	11	3550	1280
12	27	26	5	5	8	6	0	7	3560	1290
38	44	1	7	6	58	47	3	2	3570	1300
5	2	7	8	7	48	29	7	9	3580	1310
31	19	12	9	8	38	11	11	4	3590	1320
57	36	17	10	9	28	53	14	11	3600	1330
24	54	22	11	10	18	35	18	6	3610	1340
50	11	28	0	11	8	17	22	1	3620	1350
17	29	3	2	12	58	58	25	8	3630	1360

TABLE II (ii).

Movements of the Moon in Days and Hours.

Hours.					Days.				
Sec.	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*	*Sec.*	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*
56	32	0	0	1	35	10	13	0	1
53	5	1	0	2	10	21	26	0	2
49	38	1	0	3	45	31	9	1	3
46	11	2	0	4	20	42	22	1	4
35	44	2	0	5	54	52	5	2	5
32	17	3	0	6	29	3	19	2	6
28	50	3	0	7	4	14	2	3	7
25	23	4	0	8	39	24	15	3	8
21	56	4	0	9	14	35	28	3	9
17	29	5	0	10	49	45	11	4	10
14	2	6	0	11	24	56	24	4	11
10	35	6	0	12	59	6	8	5	12
50	8	7	0	13	33	17	21	5	13
8	41	7	0	14	8	28	4	6	14
0	14	8	0	15	43	38	17	6	15
56	47	8	0	16	18	49	0	7	16
53	20	9	0	17	53	59	13	7	17
49	52	9	0	18	28	10	27	7	18
46	25	10	0	19	3	21	10	8	19
42	58	10	0	20	38	31	23	8	20
38	31	11	0	21	13	42	6	9	21
34	4	12	0	22	47	52	19	9	22
25	37	12	0	23	22	3	3	10	23
35	10	13	0	24	57	13	16	10	24
31	43	13	0	25	32	24	29	10	25
28	16	14	0	26	7	35	12	11	26
25	59	14	0	27	42	45	25	11	27
21	22	15	0	28	17	56	8	0	28
17	55	15	0	29	52	6	22	0	29
14	28	16	0	30	26	17	5	1	30

TABLE III (i).

Movements of the Anomalies (סגולות) of the Moon in Tens and Units (of Years) and in Months.

Units.					Tens.				Eras.	
Sec.	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*	*Sec.*	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*Can.*	*Yazd.*
23	43	28	2	1	40	52	28	4	3380	1110
46	26	27	5	2	30	6	16	10	3390	1120
9	10	26	8	3	20	20	3	4	3400	1130
32	53	24	11	4	10	34	20	9	3410	1140
55	36	23	2	5	0	48	7	3	3420	1150
18	20	22	5	6	50	1	25	8	3430	1160
41	3	21	8	7	40	15	12	2	3440	1170
4	47	19	11	8	30	29	29	7	3450	1180
27	30	18	2	9	20	43	16	1	3460	1190
50	13	17	5	10	10	57	3	7	3470	1200
					0	11	21	0	3480	1210
Months.					50	24	8	6	3490	1220
Sec.	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*	40	38	25	11	3500	1230
					30	52	12	5	3510	1240
59	56	1	1	1	20	6	0	11	3520	1250
59	53	3	2	2	10	20	17	4	3530	1260
58	50	5	3	3	0	34	4	10	3540	1270
57	47	7	4	4	50	47	21	3	3550	1280
56	44	9	5	5	40	1	9	9	3560	1290
55	41	11	6	6	30	15	26	2	3570	1300
56	38	13	7	7	20	29	13	8	3580	1310
55	35	15	8	8	10	43	0	2	3590	1320
55	32	17	9	9	0	57	17	7	3600	1330
54	29	19	10	10	50	10	5	1	3610	1340
53	26	21	11	11	40	24	22	6	3620	1350
53	23	23	0	12	30	38	9	0	3630	1360

TABLE III (ii).

Anomalies of the Moon in Days and Hours.

Hours.					Days.				
Sec.	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*	*Sec.*	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*
39	32	0	0	1	54	3	13	0	1
20	5	1	0	2	48	7	26	0	2
59	37	1	0	3	42	11	9	1	3
39	10	2	0	4	36	15	22	1	4
19	43	2	0	5	30	19	5	2	5
59	18	3	0	6	24	23	18	2	6
38	48	3	0	7	18	27	1	3	7
18	21	4	0	8	12	31	14	3	8
58	53	4	0	9	6	35	27	3	9
35	26	5	0	10	0	39	10	4	10
18	59	5	0	11	54	42	23	4	11
54	31	6	0	12	48	46	6	5	12
37	4	7	0	13	42	50	19	5	13
16	37	7	0	14	36	54	2	6	14
57	9	8	0	15	30	58	15	6	15
36	42	8	0	16	24	2	29	6	16
15	15	9	0	17	18	6	12	7	17
51	47	9	0	18	12	10	25	7	18
36	20	10	0	19	6	14	8	8	19
16	53	10	0	20	0	18	21	8	20
56	25	11	0	21	54	21	4	9	21
36	58	11	0	22	47	25	17	9	22
12	31	12	0	23	41	29	0	10	23
54	3	13	0	24	35	33	13	10	24
14	36	13	0	25	29	37	26	10	25
13	9	14	0	26	23	41	9	11	26
13	41	14	0	27	17	45	22	11	27
53	15	15	0	28	11	49	5	0	28
13	47	15	0	29	5	53	18	0	29
52	19	16	0	30	59	56	1	1	30

TABLE IV (i).

Movements of the Head of the Dragon (התנין) in Tens and Units (of Years), and Months.

Units.					Tens.				Era.	
Sec.	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*	*Sec.*	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*Can.*	*Yazd.*
44	20	19	0	1	10	35	29	9	3380	1110
29	41	8	1	2	33	2	13	4	3390	1120
13	2	28	1	3	56	29	26	10	3400	1130
57	22	17	2	4	19	57	9	5	3410	1140
41	43	6	3	5	42	24	23	11	3420	1150
25	4	26	3	6	5	52	6	6	3430	1160
9	25	15	4	7	28	19	20	0	3440	1170
55	45	4	5	8	51	46	3	7	3450	1180
39	6	24	5	9	14	14	17	1	3460	1190
23	27	13	6	10	37	41	0	8	3470	1200
Months.					0	9	14	2	3480	1210
					23	36	27	8	3490	1220
Sec.	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*	46	3	11	3	3500	1230
					9	31	24	9	3510	1240
24	35	1	0	1	32	58	7	4	3520	1250
48	10	3	0	2	55	25	21	10	3530	1260
13	46	4	0	3	18	53	4	5	3540	1270
37	21	6	0	4	41	20	18	11	3550	1280
1	57	7	0	5	4	48	1	6	3560	1290
25	32	9	0	6	27	15	15	0	3570	1300
49	7	11	0	7	50	42	28	6	3580	1310
13	42	12	0	8	13	10	12	1	3590	1320
37	18	14	0	9	36	37	25	7	3600	1330
1	54	15	0	10	59	4	9	2	3610	1340
25	29	17	0	11	22	32	22	8	3620	1350
49	4	19	0	12	45	59	5	3	3630	1360

TABLE IV (ii).

Movements of the Head of the Dragon in Days and Hours.

Hours.					Days.				
Sec.	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*	*Sec.*	*Min.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*No.*
8	0	0	0	1	11	3	0	0	1
16	0	0	0	2	22	6	0	0	2
24	0	0	0	3	32	9	0	0	3
32	0	0	0	4	43	12	0	0	4
40	0	0	0	5	54	15	0	0	5
48	0	0	0	6	5	19	0	0	6
56	0	0	0	7	16	22	0	0	7
4	1	0	0	8	26	25	0	0	8
12	1	0	0	9	37	28	0	0	9
20	1	0	0	10	48	31	0	0	10
27	1	0	0	11	59	34	0	0	11
35	1	0	0	12	10	38	0	0	12
43	1	0	0	13	20	41	0	0	13
51	1	0	0	14	31	44	0	0	14
59	1	0	0	15	42	47	0	0	15
7	2	0	0	16	53	50	0	0	16
15	2	0	0	17	4	54	0	0	17
23	2	0	0	18	15	57	0	0	18
31	2	0	0	19	26	0	1	0	19
39	2	0	0	20	36	3	1	0	20
47	2	0	0	21	47	6	1	0	21
54	2	0	0	22	58	9	1	0	22
3	3	0	0	23	9	12	1	0	23
11	3	0	0	24	19	15	1	0	24
19	3	0	0	25	30	18	1	0	25
27	3	0	0	26	41	21	1	0	26
36	3	0	0	27	52	24	1	0	27
46	3	0	0	28	3	28	1	0	28
50	3	0	0	29	14	31	1	0	29
58	3	0	0	30	25	34	1	0	30

TABLE V (i).

Rectification of the Moon.			Rectification (צדיק) of the Sun.			מקום · המצדיק : טורי · מספרה : (Sum Total of the "Corrector." Numerical Columns.)			
Sec.	*Min.*	*Deg.*[1]	*Sec.*	*Min.*	*Deg.*[1]	*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*
1	5	0	17	2	0	29	11	1	0
2	10	0	33	4	0	28	11	2	0
3	15	0	49	6	0	27	11	3	0
4	20	0	5	9	0	26	11	4	0
4	25	0	21	11	0	25	11	5	0
4	30	0	37	13	0	24	11	6	0
2	35	0	52	15	0	23	11	7	0
2	40	0	8	18	0	22	11	8	0
0	45	0	22	20	0	21	11	9	0
58	49	0	37	22	0	20	11	10	0
55	54	0	52	24	0	19	11	11	0
51	59	0	6	27	0	18	11	12	0
46	5	1	19	29	0	17	11	13	0
40	9	1	32	31	0	16	11	14	0
33	14	1	45	33	0	15	11	15	0
25	19	1	57	35	0	14	11	16	9
16	24	1	9	38	0	13	11	17	0
5	29	1	20	40	0	12	11	18	0
53	33	1	30	42	0	11	11	19	0
39	38	1	40	44	0	10	11	20	0
23	43	1	49	46	0	9	11	21	0
10	48	1	58	48	0	8	11	22	0
49	54	1	5	51	0	7	11	23	0
52	57	1	11	53	0	6	11	24	0
50	2	2	17	55	0	5	11	25	0
43	6	2	22	57	0	4	11	26	0
57	11	2	26	59	0	3	11	27	0
49	15	2	29	1	1	2	11	28	0
58	20	2	31	3	1	1	11	29	0
46	24	2	32	5	1	0	11	0	1

[1] The word used here and in the same places throughout Table V, is כנות. It evidently means the same as degree, or at least has the same value.

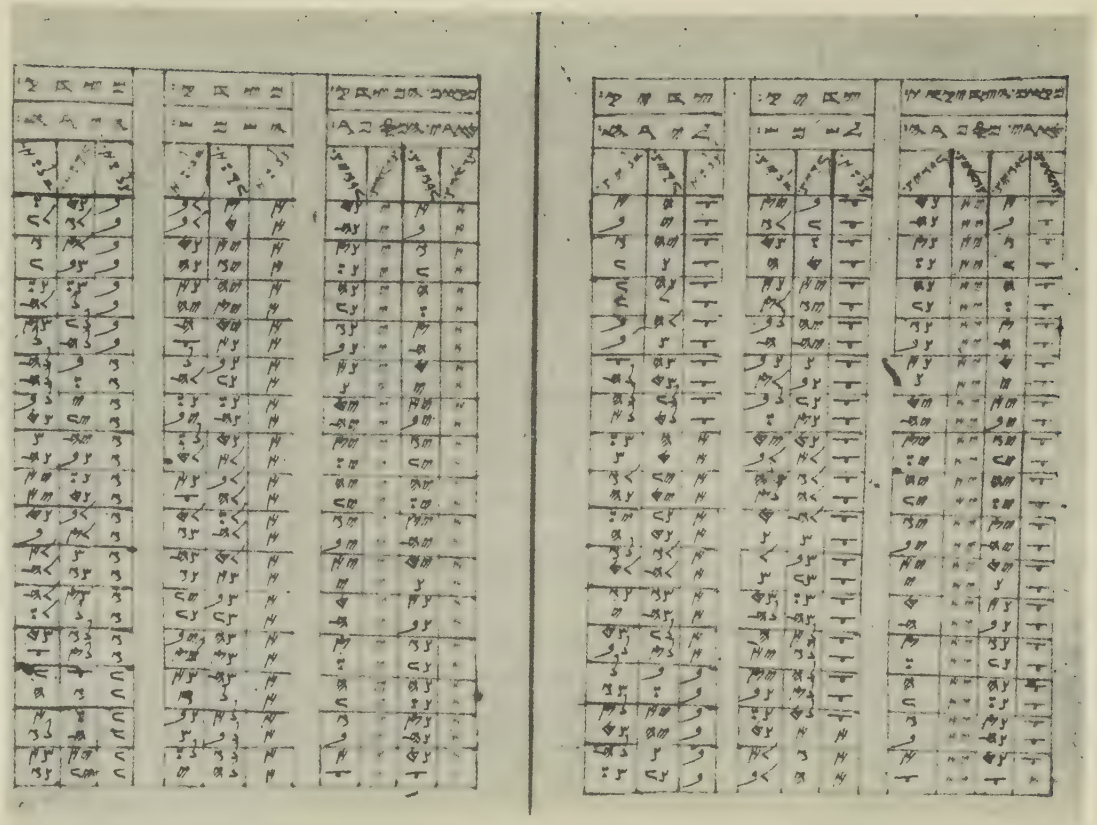

PLATE II.—FROM RYLANDS SAM. COD. XXIV. "K[illegible] TABLES.

TABLE V (ii).

Moon.			Sun.			Numerical Columns.			
Sec.	*Min.*		*Sec.*	*Min.*		*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*
6	29	2	32	7	1	29	10	1	1
34	33	2	32	9	1	28	10	2	1
3	37	2	29	11	1	27	10	3	1
4	42	2	25	13	1	26	10	4	1
26	46	2	21	15	1	25	10	5	1
38	50	2	15	17	1	24	10	6	1
47	54	2	8	19	1	23	10	7	1
50	58	2	0	21	1	22	10	8	1
58	2	3	50	22	1	21	10	9	1
58	6	3	38	24	1	20	10	10	1
52	10	3	26	26	1	19	10	11	1
49	14	3	12	28	1	18	10	12	1
40	18	3	56	29	1	17	10	13	1
28	22	3	39	31	1	16	10	14	1
11	26	3	21	32	1	15	10	15	1
11	29	3	0	35	1	14	10	16	1
29	32	3	39	36	1	13	10	17	1
2	37	3	43	38	1	12	10	18	1
31	40	3	48	39	1	11	10	19	1
38	43	3	23	41	1	10	10	20	1
38	47	3	14	42	1	9	10	21	1
36	50	3	24	44	1	8	10	22	1
49	53	3	12	45	1	7	10	23	1
0	57	3	57	47	1	6	10	24	1
4	0	4	41	48	1	5	10	25	1
5	3	4	3	50	1	4	10	26	1
1	6	4	22	51	1	3	10	27	1
53	8	4	40	52	1	2	10	28	1
41	11	4	56	53	1	1	10	29	1
23	14	4	10	55	1	0	10	0	2

TABLE V (iii).

Moon.			Sun.			Numerical Columns.			
Sec.	*Min.*		*Sec.*	*Min.*		*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*
2	17	4	21	56	1	29	9	1	2
36	19	4	5	57	1	28	9	2	2
40	22	4	59	58	1	27	9	3	2
29	24	4	49	59	1	26	9	4	2
43	26	4	47	0	2	25	9	5	2
3	29	4	44	1	2	24	9	6	2
12	31	4	46	2	2	23	9	7	2
16	33	4	42	3	2	22	9	8	2
15	35	4	36	4	2	21	9	9	2
9	37	4	28	5	2	20	9	10	2
18	38	4	18	6	2	19	9	11	2
42	40	4	4	7	2	18	9	12	2
59	42	4	48	8	2	17	9	13	2
52	43	4	30	8	2	16	9	14	2
20	45	4	10	9	2	15	9	15	2
40	46	4	46	9	2	14	9	16	2
18	47	4	22	10	2	13	9	17	2
9	49	4	54	10	2	12	9	18	2
3	50	4	24	11	2	11	9	19	2
59	50	4	54	11	2	10	9	20	2
43	51	4	14	12	2	9	9	21	2
37	52	4	37	12	2	8	9	22	2
40	53	4	57	12	2	7	9	23	2
17	54	4	14	13	2	6	9	24	2
52	54	4	28	13	2	5	9	25	2
54	54	4	39	13	2	4	9	26	2
34	54	4	49	13	2	3	9	27	2
49	55	4	55	13	2	2	9	28	2
58	55	4	59	13	2	1	9	29	2
0	56	4	0	14	2	0	9	0	3

TABLE V (iv).

Moon.			Sun.			Numerical Columns.			
Sec.	*Min.*		*Sec.*	*Min.*		*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*
58	55	4	59	13	2	29	8	1	3
49	55	4	58	13	2	28	8	2	3
34	55	4	49	13	2	27	8	3	3
14	55	4	39	13	2	26	8	4	3
12	54	4	28	13	2	25	8	5	3
12	54	4	14	13	2	24	8	6	3
40	53	4	57	12	2	23	8	7	3
37	52	4	37	12	2	22	8	8	3
43	51	4	14	12	2	21	8	9	3
59	50	4	54	11	2	20	8	10	3
4	50	4	24	11	2	19	8	11	3
9	49	4	54	10	2	18	8	12	3
13	47	4	22	10	2	17	8	13	3
40	46	4	46	9	2	16	8	14	3
27	45	4	20	9	2	15	8	15	3
2	43	4	30	8	2	14	8	16	3
19	42	4	48	7	2	13	8	17	3
42	40	4	4	7	2	12	8	18	3
18	38	4	18	6	2	11	8	19	3
9	37	4	28	5	2	10	8	20	3
15	35	4	36	4	2	9	8	21	3
16	33	4	42	3	2	8	8	22	3
12	31	4	46	2	2	7	8	23	3
53	29	4	43	1	2	6	8	24	3
48	26	4	47	0	2	5	8	25	3
49	24	4	49	59	1	4	8	26	3
40	22	4	59	58	1	3	8	27	3
36	19	4	5	57	1	2	8	28	3
2	17	4	21	56	1	1	8	29	3
23	14	4	10	55	1	0	8	0	4

TABLE V (v).

Moon.			Sun.			Numerical Columns.			
Sec.	*Min.*		*Sec.*	*Min.*		*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*
41	11	4	57	53	1	29	7	1	4
13	8	4	43	52	1	28	7	2	4
1	6	4	24	51	1	27	7	3	4
5	3	4	4	50	1	26	7	4	4
4	1	4	41	48	1	25	7	5	4
31	57	3	17	47	1	24	7	6	4
45	53	3	52	45	1	23	7	7	4
36	50	3	24	44	1	22	7	8	4
18	47	3	14	42	1	21	7	9	4
3	43	3	23	41	1	20	7	10	4
31	40	3	48	39	1	19	7	11	4
2	37	3	43	38	1	18	7	12	4
29	33	3	39	36	1	17	7	13	4
11	29	3	0	35	1	16	7	14	4
51	26	3	21	32	1	15	7	15	4
28	22	3	39	31	1	14	7	16	4
40	18	3	56	29	1	13	7	17	4
49	14	3	12	28	1	12	7	18	4
52	10	3	26	26	1	11	7	19	4
58	6	3	38	24	1	10	7	20	4
57	2	3	50	22	1	9	7	21	4
50	59	2	0	21	1	8	7	22	4
47	54	2	8	19	1	7	7	23	4
38	50	2	14	17	1	6	7	24	4
26	46	2	21	15	1	5	7	25	4
4	42	2	25	13	1	4	7	26	4
3	36	2	29	11	1	3	7	27	4
34	31	2	32	9	1	2	7	28	4
5	29	2	32	7	1	1	7	29	4
46	24	2	32	5	1	0	7	0	5

TABLE V (vi).

Moon.			Sun.			Numerical Columns.			
Sec.	*Min.*		*Sec.*	*Min.*		*Deg.*	*Zod.*	*Deg.*	*Zod.*
58	20	2	31	3	1	29	6	1	5
49	15	2	29	1	1	28	6	2	5
57	11	2	26	59	0	27	6	3	5
43	6	2	22	57	0	26	6	4	5
50	2	2	17	55	0	25	6	5	5
52	57	1	11	53	0	24	6	6	5
49	52	1	5	51	0	23	6	7	5
10	48	1	58	48	0	22	6	8	5
22	43	1	49	46	0	21	6	9	5
39	38	1	40	44	0	20	6	10	5
53	33	1	30	42	0	19	6	11	5
5	29	1	20	40	0	18	6	12	5
16	24	1	9	38	0	17	6	13	5
25	19	1	57	35	0	16	6	14	5
33	14	1	45	33	0	15	6	15	5
40	9	1	32	31	0	14	6	16	5
14	5	1	19	29	0	13	6	17	5
51	59	0	6	27	0	12	6	18	5
55	54	0	52	24	0	11	6	19	5
55	49	0	37	22	0	10	6	20	5
0	45	0	22	20	0	9	6	21	5
2	40	0	8	18	0	8	6	22	5
2	35	0	52	15	0	7	6	23	5
4	30	0	37	13	0	6	6	24	5
3	25	0	21	11	0	5	6	25	5
3	20	0	5	9	0	4	6	26	5
3	15	0	49	6	0	3	6	27	5
2	10	0	33	4	0	2	6	28	5
1	5	0	17	2	0	1	6	29	5
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	6

The Calendar.

The calendar, of which the first page is given in facsimile (Plate III), is Codex XXII of the Samaritan MSS. in the Rylands Library.[1] It shows in detail how the Samaritans used their Astronomical Tables to calculate the conjunctions of sun and moon. As will be seen it is set out in seven columns, six of which have rows of figures in *abjadi* notation. The Calendar determines the day, hour and minute of the monthly conjunctions of sun and moon, thus marking the beginnings of the Muhammadan months. In Column VII it gives the time of conjunction in terms of the Julian calendar. The names of the months which it uses for the Julian year are the Hebrew names brought from Babylonia. The columns follow in order from right to left of the page. The readings from the Astronomical Tables by which the conjunction is calculated are set out in the first six columns. The seventh is reserved for the sum of the whole matter.

After the prefatory invocation, "In the name of the Great Lord,"[2] there is written across the head of the columns, "the year 6128 [i.e. from the Creation], 3328 [i.e. from the year of the Indwelling], in the cycle of 28 [No.] 21, and in the cycle of 19 [No.] 9, excerpt for the year 1058 Hebrew Solar, Yazdajirdian [i.e. Persian]". In Col. I the figures are

6	52	28	5
44	57	27	11
50	49	26	5

The interpretation of the first row is 5 zodiacal divisions, 28 degrees, 52 minutes, 6 seconds. The year we are dealing with is 1058. We look then in Table I (i) for the position of

[1] This Calendar is a large work, having been calculated for a period of 200 years. There were three compilers: Murjān Danafī made the entries for the period from Muharram 1101 (Oct.-Nov. 1689 A.D.) to Jumādā II 1173 (Jan.-Feb. 1760), his son Muslim carried it on from that date to Sha'bān, 1255 (Oct.-Nov. 1839), and another son Abdullah completed it from that date to the end of the year 1300 (Oct.-Nov. 1883). The actual writing of the Calendar was finished in Dec. 1712 A.D.

[2] This corresponds to the Muslim بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم The idea may have been borrowed by the Samaritans from the Muslims. Some scholars think it may have been the other way round.

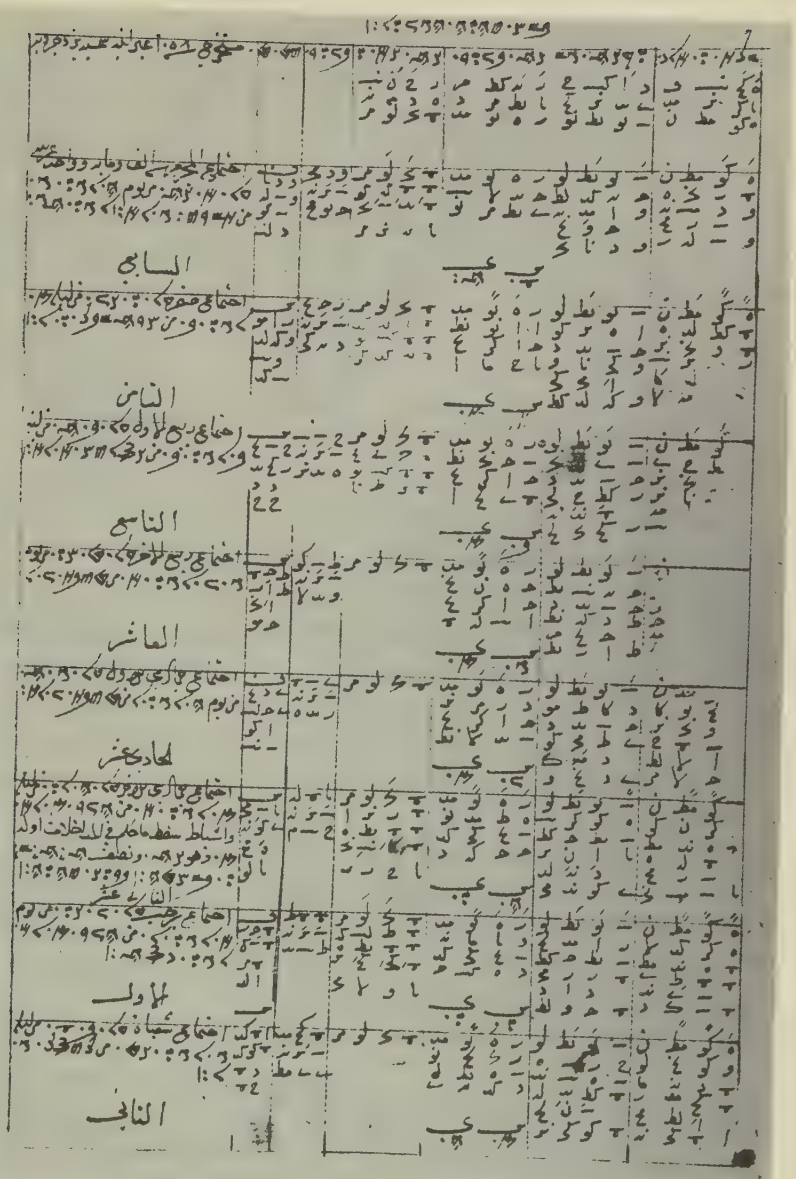

PLATE III.—FROM CODEX XXII. (EARLY 18TH CENTURY). THE FIRST PAGE OF THE GREAT CALENDAR.

the sun against the year 1050 in the " tens " column. But Codex XXIII begins at the year 1110. If we examine Codex XXIV we find that the Astronomical Tables there begin with the year 1030, and we find that the figures in the first row above are found opposite 1050. We take now the remaining 8 years and we find the figures for the second row in the " units " column of Table I (i) against the number 8. These two rows added together give the position of the sun for the year 1058. The third row is the result of the addition. As the cross sections (A, B, C, etc.) of the columns which follow furnish the changing positions of the sun, moon, etc., for the months of the year 1058, the " result of the addition " must be taken into account along with those for months, days, etc. Hence it must appear at the head of each section of its column to be included with the calculations of the months. In section B for the first month (Muharram of 1101 A.H.) we find in Col. III under the letters ـــ (شهر) and ى (يوم) the month and day in the Yazdajirdian reckoning for the particular conjunction. In Section B, Col. III, the number of months is given as 0, and the number of days as 8. We turn to Table I (ii) for the number of days ; since there are no months we have no entry for months to consider. Against 8 in the days column we find the reading 5″ 53′ 7° 0ˢ. This we add to the 50″ 49′ 26° 5ˢ of the year 1058, giving as result the third line 55″ 42′ 4° 6ˢ. In the case of Col. I, C, we have to reckon with 1 month, 7 days. In Table I (i) we find 1 month is represented by 5″ 34′ 29° 0ˢ [1] and 7 days in Table II (ii) by 57″ 53′ 6° 0ˢ. In this case we have three rows of figures to add together to give as their sum the fourth row, 52″ 17′ 2° 7ˢ. This answer gives the mean movement of the sun for the year 1058 1 month 7 days. The fifth row of figures gives the " rectification " (צדיק) necessary to determine the true movement.

To supply this " rectification " we must turn first of all to Col. V. There in the top line of Section B are the figures 43 4 6, which are to be read 43′ 4° 6ˢ. They are the figures for the mean movement of the sun to the nearest minute (the actual

[1] It should be noted that the 12 zodiac divisions are numbered from 0 to 11. When the sum in adding reaches 11 the full circle has been traversed, and we start again at 0.

TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST PAGE

IN THE NAME OF

VII.	VI.	V.
The year 6128 (from the Creation), 3328 (from the Indwelling), in the cycle of 28 (years) 21, and in the cycle of 19 (i.e. Metonic Cycle) 9. Excerpt for the year 1058 Hebrew Solar, Yazdajirdian (Persian).		
Conjunction of Al-Muharram of the year 1101, Arabian, at 1 h. 28 m. daytime of the 5th day (Thursday), the 3rd of Tishri (October) [which begins on] the 3rd day (Tuesday) and has 31 days. In festival. The 7th [month].	ف 51 4 6 35 2 6 16 2 32 4	43 4 6 55 17 2 48 16 3
Conjunction of Safar at 6 h. 24 m. nighttime of the 7th day (Saturday), the 2nd of Marcheshban (Nov.) [which begins on] the 6th day (Friday), and has 30 days. The 8th [month].	سـ 46 1 7 34 25 6 12 6 24 12	18 3 7 55 17 2 23 15 4
Conjunction of Rabī' I at 2 h. 8 m. night of Monday, 2nd of Kislim (December) [which begins on] Sunday and has 31 days. The 9th month.	سـ 18 2 8 14 28 7 4 4 8 8	52 2 8 55 17 2 57 14 5
Conjunction of Rabī' II at 9 h. 46 m. daytime of Tuesday-Wednesday, 1st of Tebet, begins Wednesday and has 30 days. The 10th month.	سـ 0 3 9 7 1 9 53 1 46 3	26 2 9 55 17 2 31 14 6
Conjunction of Jumādā I at 3 h. 8 m. daytime of Thursday, 30th Tebet, begins Wednesday and has 31 days. The 11th month.	ف 58 4 10 32 3 10 26 1 52 2	0 2 10 55 17 2 5 14 7
Conjunction of Jumādā II at 5 h. 36 m. night of Saturday, 1st of Hadar (March), begins on Saturday and has 31 days. Ishbāṭ falls out and is not included in the firsts of the months. Its first day is Saturday and it has 28½ days. The last of the months of the 6th year in Shemiṭṭah. Blessed be the Lord. The 12th month.	سـ 43 2 11 55 26 10 48 5 36 11	35 0 11 55 17 2 40 12 8
Conjunction of Rajab at 4 h. 26 m. daytime of Sunday, 30th of Hadar, begins Saturday and has 31 days. In Passover. The 1st month.	ف 7 3 0 20 2 0 47 0 34 1	9 0 0 55 17 2 14 12 9
Conjunction of Sha'bān at 2 h. 0 m. night of Tuesday, 29th of Nisan (April), begins on a Tuesday, and has 30 days. The 2nd month.	سـ 24 0 1 24 26 0 0 4 0 8	44 28 0 55 17 2 49 10 10

OF THE GREAT CALENDAR.

THE GREAT LORD.

IV.				III.				II.				I.				
52	50	8	7	40	29	15	7	8	22	1	4	6	52	28	5	
55	45	4	5	4	47	19	11	28	57	14	10	44	57	27	11	A
47	36	13	0	44	16	5	7	36	19	16	2	50	49	26	5	
					ي	س										
					8	0										
47	36	13	0	44	16	5	7	36	19	16	2	50	49	26	5	
26	25	0	0	12	31	14	3	39	24	15	3	5	53	7	0	B
13	2	14	0	56	47	19	10	15	44	1	6	55	42	4	6	
17	57	15	11					58	6	3		48	7	2		
								13	51	4	6	7	35	2	6	
47	36	13	0	44	16	5	7	36	19	16	2	50	49	26	5	
24	35	1	0	59	56	1	1	26	17	5	1	5	34	29	0	C
16	22	0	0	18	27	1	3	4	14	2	3	57	53	6	0	
27	34	15	0	1	41	8	11	6	51	23	6	52	17	*2*	7	
					ي	س		23	43	1		21	*32*	*1*		
					7	1		29	34	25	6	31	45	*1*	*7*	
47	36	13	0	44	16	5	7	36	19	16	2	50	49	26	5	
48	10	3	0	59	53	3	2	53	34	10	2	10	8	*29*	*1*	
16	22	0	0	18	27	1	3	4	14	2	3	57	53	*6*	*0*	D
51	9	17	0	1	38	10	0	33	8	29	7	57	51	*2*	*8*	
					ي	س		55	54	0		45	*33*	*0*		
					7	2		38	13	28	7	12	*18*	*2*	*8*	
47	36	13	0	44	16	5	7	36	19	16	2	50	*49*	*26*	*5*	
				58	50	5	3	19	52	15	3	*16*	*42*	*28*	*2*	
				18	27	1	3	4	14	2	3	*57*	*53*	*6*	*0*	E
				0	35	12	1	59	25	4	9	3	*26*	*2*	*9*	
					ي	س		40	18	3		45	*33*	*0*		
					7	3		19	7	1	9	*48*	*59*	*2*	*9*	
47	36	13	0	44	16	5	7	36	19	16	2	50	49	*26*	*5*	
				57	47	7	4	46	9	21	4	21	16	*28*	*3*	
				18	27	1	3	4	14	2	3	57	53	6	*0*	F
				59	31	14	2	26	43	9	10	8	0	2	*10*	
					ي	س		20	45	4		39	31	1		
					7	4		6	58	4	10	47	31	3	*10*	
47	36	13	0	44	16	5	7	36	19	16	2	50	49	26	*5*	
1	57	7	0	56	44	9	5	12	27	26	5	26	50	27	*4*	
5	19	0	0	24	23	18	2	29	3	19	2	49	54	5	*0*	G
53	52	21	0	4	25	3	3	17	50	1	11	5	35	0	*11*	
7	7	8	11		ي	س		34	55	4		48	7	2		
					6	5		43	54	26	10	53	42	2	11	
47	36	13	0	44	16	5	7	36	19	16	2	50	49	26	*5*	
25	32	9	0	55	41	11	6	38	44	1	7	31	24	27	5	
5	19	0	0	24	23	18	2	29	3	19	2	49	54	5	0	H
17	28	23	0	3	22	5	4	43	7	7	0	10	9	0	0	
43	31	6	11		ي	س		4	1	4		54	10	2		
					6	6		39	6	3	0	4	20	2	0	
47	36	13	0	44	16	5	7	36	19	16	2	50	49	26	5	
				56	38	13	7	5	2	7	8	36	58	26	6	
				30	19	5	2	54	52	5	2	41	55	4	0	J
				10	15	24	4	35	14	29	0	7	44	28	0	
					ي	س		38	50	2		48	39	1		
					5	7		57	23	26	0	55	23	0	1	

figures we have seen are 55″ 42′ 4° 6ˢ. The row beneath it gives the reading for the " altitude of the sun " (מעלת · השמש) for Mt. Gerizim. By subtracting the second from the first we get as remainder 48′ 16° 3ˢ. We must turn now to the " Rectification Tables," Table V (iv), which take account only of degrees. As we have 48′ in our remainder the reading to the nearest degree is 17° 3ˢ. The " rectification " against 17° 3ˢ is 48″ 7′ 2°. This is our fourth line for Col. IB. If the zodiac signs in the remainder are less than 6, this " rectification " is subtracted, if more than 6 it is added. As the zodiacal divisions in this case are 3, we subtract. The remainder is now 7″ 35′ 2° 6ˢ, giving the true position.

In Col. IIB the first three rows of figures are found for the movement of the moon from Tables II (i) and II (ii) in precisely the same way as they were found for the sun from Tables I (i) and I (ii). To obtain the " rectification " for the moon we must turn to Col. III. Col. III supplies the calculations for the vagaries or anomalies (סגולות) of the moon. These are found from Tables III (i) and III (ii) precisely as all those for sun and moon in Cols. I and II. The answer obtained in Col. III by addition of the figures for the year 1058, 0 months, 8 days is 56″ 47′ 19° 10ˢ. This to the nearest degree is 20° 10ˢ. In Table V (ii) the " rectification " for the moon for 20° 10ˢ is 58″ 6′ 3°. This reading is now introduced in Col. II and added or subtracted on the same principle as the " rectification " for the sun. In this case being above 6ˢ it is added, and the sum, 13″ 51′ 4° 6ˢ, shows the true movement of the moon.

Col. IV takes into account the precession of the equinoxes, providing the calculations for the movement of the *nodus borealis* (ראש · התנין). For this Tables IV (i) and IV (ii) furnish corresponding calculations to those in Tables I, II, and III. For the first few pages of our Calendar full readings for months and days as well as hours are furnished, but soon they are dropped and only the calculation for the year given.

Col. V, as we have already noted, supplies the reading whence is deduced the " rectification " for the sun movement.

In Col. VIB the " rectified " movements of the sun and moon, i.e. the results of Cols. IB and IIB, taken to the nearest

minute, are introduced, and the less is subtracted from the greater. In the case of section B the moon result happens to be the greater and the month is called in consequence "lunar" (قمرى) and the letter ق is written above it. If the sun result should be the greater, as is the case in section C, the moon result is subtracted, and the month is called "solar" (شمسى) and a س is written at the top. The remainder after subtraction is now doubled, and the answer furnishes the means of ascertaining the hours and minutes of day or night when the conjunction takes place. The minutes of the conjunction are easily calculated. If the month happens to be "solar," the minutes are the minutes of the answer. If the month is "lunar" the minutes of conjunction are the minutes of the answer subtracted from 60. Thus in Col. VIB the remainder after subtraction was 16′ 2°. This when doubled gave the answer 32′ 4°. The month was "lunar" consequently the minutes of conjunction are $60 - 32 = 28$. In Col. VIC the minutes of conjunction are 24.

To determine the hour of conjunction was not so simple. To ascertain it the Samaritans had recourse to another table known to them as the جدول ساعات البعد. This is not included amongst the recognised Astronomical Tables. I found it, however, on flyleaves of Codices XXIII and XXV. It is as follows :—

Time.	Lunar.	Solar.	Hours.
Day	5	6	0
,,	4	7	1
,,	3	8	2
,,	2	9	3
,,	1	10	4
,,	0	11	5
Night	11	0	6
,,	10	1	7
,,	9	2	8
,,	8	3	9
,,	7	4	10
,,	6	5	11
,,	5	6	12
,,	4	7	13
,,	3	8	14
,,	2	9	15
,,	1	10	16
,,	0	11	17

To take an example of its operation. The result in Col. VIC after subtraction and doubling is 24′ 12°. The number of degrees is 12, and the month is solar. But 12 for the purposes of the table is the same as 0. Against 0 in the solar column we find that the time is night and the hours 6. The conjunction thus takes place at 6 hours 24 minutes of the night time. This is confirmed by the information supplied in Col. VII.

The Samaritans no doubt had other tables equating dates in the Yazdajirdian, Julian and Muhammadan Calendars, although none can be found on the pages of the Rylands manuscripts.

As will be seen from the facsimile (Plate III) the first page of the Great Calendar has been damaged at the central right-hand margin, due no doubt to constant handling. In consequence a number of gaps have been created in the readings in the first column. These can be filled easily from the Astronomical Tables, and I have done so. The figures thus supplied are printed in italics.

The Great Calendar of the Samaritans, as is remarked in one of its colophons, combines three calendars; the Muhammadan, under which the Samaritans later found themselves, the Julian under which for long they had been, and the Persian which formed the background of the Astronomical Tables which they borrowed.

LETTRES DU ROI EDWARD I À ROBERT DE BAVENT, KING'S YEOMAN, SUR DES QUESTIONS DE VÈNERIE.

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LES lettres sous sceau privé dont nous donnons le texte ci-dessous ont été adressées par Edward I à Robert de Bavent ; elles sont conservées au Public Record Office sous la cote ; *Remembrancer of the Exchequer* E 101/362/28 et portent le titre : *Littere Domini Regis misse Domino Roberto de Bavent*. Elles sont au nombre de 18 et s'étendent sur une période de trois ans (1302-1305) ; la première (12 nov. 1302) est un peu isolée ; après elle, on passe brusquement à l'année 1304, qui nous fournit huit lettres (du 8 fév. au 8 déc.) puis à 1305 qui en donne neuf (du 15 jan. au 11 nov.).

Cette petite collection de lettres est loin d'être dénuée d'intérêt. Tout d'abord, elles confirment sur plus d'un point, s'il en est besoin, les déplacements du roi durant ces importantes années de son règne. En novembre 1302, il est à Westminster (let. 1) ; les lettres suivantes ont été écrites pendant la campagne d'Ecosse ; la lettre 2 est datée de Dunfermline (8 fév. 1304), où Edward a pris ses quartiers d'hiver après avoir achevé sa marche à travers l'Ecosse.[1] La lettre suivante (8 juil. 1304) a été écrite sous les murs de Stirling ; le roi avait ordonné l'investissement de cette place en avril de cette même année, et était venu ensuite prendre la direction des opérations, le château devait se rendre quelques jours plus tard, le 20 juillet.[2] Quelque temps après, le roi

[1] T. F. Tout, *The Political History of England*, vol. iii, p. 225.

[2] C'est la date donnée par les *Annales Londonienses* : Die Sanctae Margaretae (éd. W. Stubbs, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edw. I and Edw. II*, vol. i, p. 133), par Thomas Walsingham, die Sanctae Margaretae (*Historia Anglicana*, éd. H. T. Riley, vol. i, p. 106), par les *Flores Historiarum* (éd. H. R. Luard, vol. iii, p. 319). T. F. Tout (*loc. cit.*), écrit le 24 juillet.

rentrait en Angleterre : les lettres 4-9 (25 oct., 2 nov. 3 nov., 29 nov., 7 déc. 8 déc. 1304) nous le montrent établi dans le voisinage de Hull à Burstwick in Holderness ; nous savons [1] qu'il traversa le Humber dans la première moitié de ce mois et qu'il passa à Lincoln *Natale suum* c'est à dire les fêtes de Noël.[2] Les deux lettres suivantes (let. 10 et 11) nous le montrent poursuivant à loisir son voyage vers le Sud en janvier 1305 : le 15 il est à Navenby (Lincolnshire), le 16 à Sleford (Lincolnshire). Ce n'est qu'au commencement du mois suivant [3] qu'il arriva à Londres ; le Parlement devait se réunir à Westminster du 28 fév. au 21 mars, et pendant la tenue de ce parlement, le roi écrivit trois lettres (let. 12, 13 et 14), le 11 mars, le 4 et le 12 avril. Les lettres suivantes sont des témoignages des déplacements du roi : le 2 juillet 1305, il est à Smarden (Kent) (let. 15), le 13 août à Royley (Staffs.) (let. 16), le 13 sept. à Epping (Essex) (let. 17), enfin le 11 nov. à Chertsey (Surrey) (let. 18).

En même temps qu'elles confirment les déplacements du roi, ces lettres nous sont une preuve de son amour passionné pour la chasse au faucon, que certains chroniqueurs ont noté [4] : les événements les plus sérieux de la guerre d'Ecosse, le mémorable parlement de 1305 ne réussissent pas à lui faire oublier son plaisir favori.

A un autre point de vue, ces lettres offrent un intérêt considérable : elles nous font assez bien connaître l'état de l'anglo-normand—au moins tel qu'il était employé dans la chancellerie royale—au début du XIV[e] siècle. On ne peut s'empêcher d'être frappé par la remarquable qualité de la langue qu'elles révèlent ; cette dernière, comme on pourra le constater facilement, est très supérieure pour la correction et la régularité à l'anglo-normand de la plupart des œuvres littéraires de la même époque.

Il ne saurait être question de faire ici une étude complète des particularités de phonétique, de morphologie et de syntaxe qu'on

[1] T. F. Tout, *loc. cit.*, p. 226. [2] *Flores Historiarum*, iii, 320.

[3] Tertio kalendas Februarii, qui dicebatur sabatum, venit dominus rex Edwardus de Scotia et hospitavit ad hospitale Sanctae Katerinae prope Turrim (*Annales Londonienses*, vol. i, p. 134).

[4] *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edw. I and Edw. II*, Jean de Londres, vol. ii, p. 5.

peut y relever, mais quelques brèves remarques ne seront peut-être pas inutiles. Les voyelles sont remarquablement conservées ; on remarque quelques *e* pour *i* (*trentesme*, let. 3, exceptionnel du reste) ; *i* pour *e* devant *r* (*girfauk*, let. 11, 14, 15 qui peut du reste provenir de *gierfauk ;* let. 10). Les graphies qui tentent de représenter le son de l'*o* long tonique libre du latin sont assez variées ; *o* existe sans être commun (*oustor* (acceptorem) let. 15) ; *ou* est plus fréquent (*oure*, let. 2 ; *meillour*, let 14 ; etc.) ; *eu* et *u* sont assez rares (*porteur*, let. 1, 8, 14 ; *portur*, let. 4, 5, 7, etc.). De même l'*o* provenant de *o* long *u* bref entravés s'écrit tantôt par *o* ce qui est rare (*jor* let. 1 ; *por*, let. 3) ; tantôt par *u* qui est assez commun (*pur*, let. 4), le plus souvent par *ou* (*jour*, let. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, etc.). Les nasales *an* et *on* présentent quelquefois la graphie avec *u* (*Irlande*, let. 1 ; *Irlaunde*, let. 2 ; *faucon*, let. 1 ; *heroun*, let. 1) ; la graphie *un* (*secund*, let. 5) pour *on* est rare. *An* est le plus souvent écrit *en*. En ce qui concerne les diphtongues, *ié* présente assez fréquemment la réduction à *é* (*manere*, let. 2 ; *mester*, let. 6) ; mais la forme étymologique est loin d'être rare (*anier*, let. 1 ; *lanier*, let. 10) ; les formes en *ié* se rencontrent dans des cas où elles ne sont pas étymologiques (*avienture*, let. 3 ; *tiel*, let. 3), ce qui permet de soupçonner une influence picarde. *Dieu* ne se rencontre que sous cette forme. La diphtongue *ai* s'est assez mal maintenue, elle est le plus souvent écrite *ei* (*eide*, let. 8 ; *seison*, let. 12, etc.) ; elle est un peu plus fréquente devant une consonne nasale (*chapelain*, let. 12) ; la diphtongue *ei* au contraire a beaucoup mieux subsisté, elle passe normalement à *oi*, sauf quand elle est une graphie de *ai* (*roi*, *passim ; endroit*, let. 1 ; *foial*, *passim*), même devant une nasale (*poyne*, let. 8) et à l'infinitif des verbes de III (*savoir*, let. 5 ; *avoir*, let. 5).

Au point de vue de la morphologie, on peut dire que la déclinaison des substantifs n'a subsisté qu'à l'état de souvenir, comme on peut le voir dans la formule de début : Edward . . . *roi* d'Engleterre, *seigneur* d'Irlande, *ducs* d'Aquitaine. Celle des adjectifs n'est guère en meilleur état ; quelques participes passés conservent encore des traces, accidentelles peut-être, de la forme du cas sujet : il n'estoit mie *venuz*, let. 3. La déclinaison des pronoms est au contraire normale. Le verbe ne

demande pas beaucoup de remarques ; la désinence en *-iens* de la première personne du pluriel est rare (*eussiens*, let. 18) ; nous avons signalé les infinitifs en *-oir*, la forme en *-er* pour la troisième conjugaison reste cependant très commune (*aver*, let. 6 ; *saver*, let. 3) ; signalons encore *recevire*, let. 7 ; *purvoier*, let. 16.

La syntaxe ne s'écarte guère de la syntaxe du français continental de l'époque ; on remarque une extension assez curieuse de la construction. *Entre . . . et* pour exprimer un sujet multiple : Qu'il viegnent . . . et *entre vous* y viegnez ausint, let. 2. Le subjonctif dans la proposition subordonnée est peut-être plus fréquent qu'en français ; on le trouve, par exemple, dans les propositions conditionnelles : si vous *eez*, let. 2 ; s'il ne *soient*, let. 6 ; si vous *peussez*, let. 15, etc. :—

1.

12 nov. 1302.

Robert de Bavent ne devra rejoindre le roi qu'après la guérison complète des faucons blessés.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roi Dengleterre, seigneur Dirlaunde et Ducs Daquitaine, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Nous avoms bien entendu coment vous ne poez venir a nous ove nos faucons sitost come nous vous avioms comandez a vostre partir de nous, par acheison de ce que aucuns de nos ditz faukons sont aucunement blescez de un heroun, sicome vous nous avez mandé par vos lettres, les queles vous nous enveastes par le porteur de cestes. Et volons que vous les sojornez tant qu'il soient bien garriz, et que puis viegnez a nous et les mengez ovesque vous. Et endroit du trespas qui feut n'ad gueres fait a vos gentz, dont vous nous avez mandez, sachez que nous voloms que a vostre venir a nous eez brief de nostre chancellerie d'oïr et terminer sur meisme le trespas.

Doné souz nostre privé seal, a Westmouster, le .xij. jor de Novembre l'an de nostre regne trentisme.

2.

8 fév. 1304.

Ordre à Robert de Bavent et aux fauconniers d'apporter des faucons à Berwick-sur-Tweed.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu roi Dengleterre, seigneur Dirlande et Ducs Daquitaine, a notre foial et loial Robert de Bavent et nos chiers vadletz Georgyn et Thomas Derlham, saluz.

Nous vous mandoms que meintenant veues ces lettres facez garnir depar nous touz celx qui gardent nos faucons heroniers et aniers, qui qu'il soient, qu'il viegnent touz ove meismes les faucons jusques a Berewike sur Twede ; et entre vous y viegnez ausint, si vous eez nul en garde, le plus hastivement que vous porrez. Et de l'oure que nos ditz faucons y serront venuz, voloms que hom le nous face assaver au plus tost que hom porra. Et ce en nule manere ne soit leissez.

Doné souz notre privé seal a Dunfermelyn le .viij. jour de ffeverer Lan de notre regne .xxxij.

3.

8 juillet 1304.

Le roi accepte un gerfaut que Philippe de Kyme lui a offert ; il ordonne à Robert de Bavent de n'acheter à St. Botolf des gerfauts et des autours que s'ils sont de qualité supérieure.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu Roy Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlaunde et Ducs Daquitaine, a notre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Nous avoms bien entendu les lettres que vous baillastes a Thomas, votre frere, por nous porter. Et endroit du Gyrfauk que mons. Phelipe de Kyme nous voudroit doner, vous voudrez saver notre volunté : nous vous enveoms orendroit noz lettres escrites au dit Phelipe, par les queles nous le mercioms de meisme le Gyrfauk et li prioms qu'il le voille liverer a vous. Et por ce vous mandoms que vous le recevez a notre oeps, et le facez batre a leure et treiner a Heiron et a Grue et bien garder, selonc

ce que nous vous avoms chargez endroit de notre autre Gyrfauk qui est en votre garde ; et nous enveoms a vous orendroit Perkyn, notre Brakoner, por vous aider. Et endroit de achater a notre oeps Oustours ou Gyrfauks a seint Botolf, dont vous nous avez mandez : sachez que nous ne voloms mie que vous y attachez Oustours ne Gyrfauks, s'il ne soient aucuns que soient triez et meillours et plus bealx que nuls autres. Et si par avienture, vous y truessez un ou deux de tielx Oustours ou de tielx Gyrfauks ensi triez et meillours et plus bealx que nuls autres, adonques les facez attacher a notre oeps, et nous remandez hastivement queux il sont et de queu pris, si que nous puissons comander plus avant notre volunté. Et endroit de ce que vous aviez chargez votre frere de nous dire depar vous, sachiez qu'il n'estoit mie venuz a nous au partir de ces lettres ; mais quant il serra venuz a nous, sur ce qu'il nous dirra nous mettroms tieu consail come nous verroms que y face a mettre par reison.

Doné souz notre privé seal, a Estrevelin le .viij. jour de Juyl, Lan de nostre regne trentesme secund.

4.

25 oct. 1304.

Envoi d'un faucon lanier.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roi Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlaunde et Ducs Daquitaine, a notre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Nous vous enveoms un faucon Lanier par le portur de ces lettres, et vous mandoms que vous l'affeytez, si qu'il puisse voler a heyron ove noz autres deux faucons qui sont en votre garde, por ce q'il nous est avys qu'il affiert bien que trois faucons soient affetiez pur voler emsemble a heiron. Et nous remandez sanz delay, par voz lettres et par le portur de cestes, comment vous l'averez receu et ce que vous en semble, ensemblement ove l'estat et les novelles de noz Gyrfauks qui sont en votre garde.

Doné souz notre privé seal, a Brustwyke le .xxv. jour Doctobre, Lan de notre regne Trentisme secund.

5.

2 nov. 1304.

Instructions et recommandations du sujet d'un gerfaut et d'un autour ; ce dernier doit être envoyé au roi sans délai. Don d'un tonneau de vin à Robert de Bavent.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roi Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlaunde et Ducs Daquitaine, a notre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Nous avoms bien entendu ce que vous nous avez mandez par voz lettres que vous nous enveastes par le portur de cestes. Et de ce que vous nous avez mandez que vous comencerez a treiner notre Gyrfauk le Lundi prochein apres le jour des almes, vous mandoms que, quant vous l'averez treinez, nous facez savoir, au plus tost que vous porrez, a quoi vous l'averez treiné ; et nous mandez ausint l'estat de li et voz autres novelles. Et endroit del houstour que Gilbert le Gaunt ad en garde : sachez que nous vous enveoms or endroit noz lettres pur li bailler, par les quelles nous li mandoms qu'il viegne a nous ove meisme l'oustour sanz delay ; et por ce, le hastez vers nous ce que vous porrez. Et nous vous enveoms unes noz lettres escrites a Richard Oysel, nostre baillif de Houdernesse, ou a son Lieu tenant a Bartone, par les quelles nous li mandons qu'il vos face trover a Bartone meisons a noz coustages por voz grues. Et de ce que vous nous avez priez, que vous puissez avoir un tonel de vin de noz vins qui sont a seint Botolf, sur vostre aconte en garderobe, sachez que nous vous enveoms ores noz lettres escrites a William Trente, nostre, Botillier, ou a son Lieu tenant a seint Botolf, qu'il vous face avoir un tonel de bon vin de nostre doun.

Doné souz nostre privé seal a Brustwyk, le secund jour de Novembre l'an de nostre regne .xxxij.

6.

3 nov. 1304.

Geoffroi de Hauville est recommandé aux bons soins de Robert de Bavent.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roi Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlaunde et Ducs Daquitaine, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Comme nous enveoms nostre cher vallet Geffroy de Hauville ove un nostre Girfauke vers voz parties, vous mandoms que a meisme celi Geffroi facez aver deux ou trois grues bones et covenables por remembrance de nostre dit Girfauke, s'il en eit mester ; et li facez aver ausint aide de gentz et de chiens, selonc ce que vous porrez, issint que nous vous en puissoms saver bon gré.

Doné souz nostre privé seal a Brustwyke, le .iij. jour de Novembre, l'an de nostre regne Trentisme secund.

7.

29 nov. 1304.

Remerciements et recommandations du roi ; faveurs accordées à Yon de Bavent, oncle de Robert.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roy Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlaunde et Ducs Daquitaine, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Nous avoms bien entendu par voz lettres que vous nous enveastes par le portur de cestes le bon estat de noz trois Gyrfauks, dont vous nous avez certefiez ore par voz lettres, et vous ensavoms molt bon gré, et vous mercioms molt de la diligence et de la penibleté que vous avez mise entour l'exploit et l'affaitement de noz Girfauks avantditz. Et vous mandoms que uncore meismes les Girfauks facez affeiter et mettre a bon point, si avant come vous porrez, contre ceste feste de Noel, si que vous nous enpuissez porter bone nouvelle a meisme la feste, par la quele novele nous soioms adonques mielz aisez. Et endroit de la busoigne Yon de Bavent, vostre uncle, dont vous nous priastes, nous vous envoioms noz lettres escrites a Elys de Stapelton, Seneschal le conté de Lancastre, en conté de Nicole, par les queles nous li prioms que la demande de la suite que le dit Yon deit a la Court le Conte de Lancastre de Belteford, il voille au dit Yon faire suhed et respiter, selonc ce qu'il porra bonement, soveaux tant come le dit Yon serra entendant a nostre deduit et que, apres cel respit, il voille recevire son attornez por faire la suite en noun de li a la dite Court en due forme.

Doné souz nostre privé seal a Brustwyke, le .xxix. jour de Novembre l'an de nostre regne .xxxiij.

8.

7 déc. 1304.

Envoi d'argent et recommandations diverses.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roy Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlande et Ducs Daquitaine, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Sachez que nous vous enveoms par le porteur de ces lettres deners, selonc ce que nous pooms aore por vous, por Georgyn et por Hauvylle, et voloms que vous soiez a nous a Noel, et adonques nous feroms mettre eide an vostre busoigne, si que voz defautes serront bien amendees, si Dieu plest. Et nous reenveoms a vous le porteur de ces lettres et un autre vadlet ausynt por vous eyder ; et vous mandoms que vous mettez poyne de bien faire, si que, a vostre venue a nous a Nicole, nous puissez porter bone novelle.

Doné souz nostre privé seal a Brustwyke, le .vij. jour de Decembre l'an de nostre regne trentisme tierz.

9.

8 déc. 1304.

Robert de Bures est envoyé comme aide à Robert de Bavent.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roi Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlaunde et Ducs Daquitaine, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Nous enveoms orendroit a vous Robert de Bures nostre vadlet, porteur de ces lettres, por estre entendant et aidant a vous et a ceux de vostre compaignie, selonc ce que vous ordenerez et verrez que mielz face a faire, tantque nous en eoms autre chose ordenee.

Doné souz nostre privé seal a Brustwyke, le .viij. jour de Decembre, l'an de nostre regne .xxxiij.

10.

15 jan. 1305.

Recommandations diverses.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roi Dengleterre, seigneur Dirlande et Ducs Daquitaigne, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bauvent, saluz.

Nous avons bien entendu voz lettres, les queles vous nous envoiastes par le portour de cestes, par les queles nous avons entendu l'estat de noz Gierfauks et de noz faucons qui sont en vostre garde, et ausint comment vous avez noz ditz Gierfauks et faucons exploitez, de quoy nous vous savons bon gré. Et vous mandons que les Laniers sors et muers facez bien affeter, si qu'il soient bien volantz a heron, et s'en exploitent en totes les bonnes maneres que vous porrez. Et les Gierfauks facez bien garder, et qu'il volent a Heron le meyns que vous porrez, issint totevois qu'il soient bien affetez et exploitez, sicomme vous verrez que mieuz soit pur le profit et l'exploit de eux. Et endroit de voz gages que vous serront arieres, envoiez desores a Johan de Drekenefford, gardeyn de nostre garderobe, pur vous en aider quant vous en aurez mester.

Doné souz nostre privé seal a Navenby le .xv. jour de Janevoir l'an de nostre regne .xxxiij.

11.

16 Jan. 1305.

Le roi exprime sa satisfaction au sujet de deux gerfauts ; il accepte deux grues offertes par Philippe de Kyme.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roi Dengleterre, seigneur Dirlande et Ducs Daquitaine, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Nous avoms bien entendu par les lettres que vous nous avez ore envees comment vous avez esploité ove noz girfauks, de quoi nous nous tenoms bien appaietz. Et por ce que les deux girfauks sont assentuz a voler ensemble a heiron, vous mandoms que vous ne les facez mes voler a heiron, ainz les affetez por la grue, au mielz que vous purrez. Et de ce que vous avez defaute de

grues, sachez que mons. Phelipe de Kyme nous ha dit qu'il ad trois grues bien volantz, qu'il ad fait garder a nostre oeps. Et nous li avoms commandé qu'il les vous face avoir. Par quei nous vous mandoms que vous les envoiez querre. Maes pur ce ne leissez mie que vous de la vostre part ne facez porchacer des grues tant comme vous purrez.

Doné souz nostre privé seal a Sleford le .xvj. jour de Janevoir, l'an de nostre regne .xxxiij.

12.

11 mars 1305.

Recommandations au sujet de certains gerfauts.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roi Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlande et Ducs Daquitanie, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Nous avoms bien entendu ce que vous nous avez mandez par voz lettres que vous nous envoiastes par vostre chapelain, portour de cestes. Et por ce que la seison de gruage passe ore durement, vous mandoms que vous mettez tote la peine que vous purrez d'esploiter noz gerfauks qui sont en vostre garde et de les faire estre bien volantz as grues, avant que la seison soit passez.

Doné souz nostre privé seal a Westmostier, le .xj. jour de Marz, l'an de nostre regne .xxxiij.

13.

4 avril 1305.

Envoi de deux faucons, recommandations pour le dressage de l'un d'eux.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu Roi Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlaunde, et Ducs Daquitaine, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Nous enveoms ore a vous Rauf Copyn ove un faucon qu'est volant a heiron, et Symon le Ffauconer ove un faucon que n'est mie affeitez, et vous mandoms que le dit faucon que n'est mie uncore affeitez facez treiner a heron, a siege et a pievol, et a

volant, et en totes les maneres par quoi vous le porrez bien entrer et faire baud, et qu'il soit treinez si sovent et si avant come vous voudriez treiner un faucon lanier ; et puis le facez voler a heron ove les faucons laniers qui sont en vostre garde. Et quant il serra par eux bien entrez et bien volant a heron, si voloms que le dit Symon ove meisme le faucon face voler a heron ove le faucon que le dit Rauf ad en sa garde, sicomme il verroit que mielz face a faire, et sicomme nous lour avoms plus pleinement enjoignt ; et deslors porrez vous bien mettre en mue les faucons laniers qui sont en vostre garde, sicome vous verrez que mielz face a faire.

Doné souz nostre privé seal a Westmouster le .iiij. jour de Averil, l'an de nostre regne .xxxiij.

14.

12 avril 1305.

Désappointement causé au roi par certains gerfauts.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roy Dengleterre, seigneur Dirlaunde et Ducs Daquitanie, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Nous avoms bien entendu par voz lettres et par vostre Prestre, porteur de cestes, comment noz Girfauks qui sont en vostre garde s'esploitent malement ; de quoi nous nous tenoms a maupaez. Et por ce que vous n'avez nule esperance que le Girfauke, que Georgyn, nostre fauconer, garde, face nul esploit ceste seison, vous mandoms que meisme le Girfauke facez envoier a nous par meisme celi Georgyn, veues ces lettres, le plus en haste que vous porrez. Et endroit de l'autre Girfauke, vous mandoms que vous le facez esploiter, entre cy et la quinzeine de Pasque procheinement a venir, en la meillour manere que vous porrez ; et que a cele houre vous meismes le nous portez, si que vous soiez a nous adonques, ou que nous soioms. Et nos faucons laniers qui sont volantz a heron, voloms que vous assignez tantost a Copyn, nostre fauconer, por voler ove le faucon que nous envoiasmes n'ad guerres vers vous, par li et par son compaignon, et por mettre einz meisme le faucon tanq'il soit

entrez et bien volant, si avant comme vous porrez, et selonc ce que nous vous avoms mandé avant ces houres par noz autres lettres.

Doné souz nostre privé seal a Westmouster, le .xij. jour de Averil, l'an de nostre regne .xxxiij.

15.

12 juil. 1305.

Le roi refuse d'acheter de nouveaux faucons, et permet d'acheter un autour s'il est " merveilleusement grand."

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roy Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlaunde et Ducs Daquitaine, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Nous avoms bien entendu les lettres que vous nous enveastes par le portur de cestes. Et de ce que vous voudrez avoir poair d'achater a Lenn, a seint Botolfe et a Hulle Gyrfauks, Oustours et Faucons, sachez que de Girfauks et de Faucons avoms nous assez, par quoi nous ne voloms mie que vous en achatez nul a nostre oeps ; mais si vous peussez trover nul Oustor que soit merveillousment grant, et greignor d'autres, tot eit il les pennes brisees, nous voloms que vous retiegnez a nostre oeps un tiel tant soulement, si vous le truessez.

Doné souz nostre privé seal a Smerden, le secund jour de Juyl, l'an de nostre regne .xxxiij.

16.

13 août 1305.

Le roi accepte l'autour offert par Robert le Venour ; conseils et recommandations variés.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roy Dengleterre, Seignur Dirlaunde et Ducs Daquitaine, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Nous avoms bien entendu par voz lettres que vous nous avez envees par vostre Chapeleyn, portur de cestes, le bon estat de nostre Girfauke qu'est en vostre garde, de quoi nous nous tenoms bien appaez. Et endroit del Oustour, que mons. Robert le

venour nous ad grantez de son doun, sicomme vous nous avez mandez, dont vous voudrez saver nostre volunté, nous prioms meisme celi Robert par noz lettres que nous vous enveoms par le portur de cestes, qu'il nous face deliverer meisme l'oustour, et vous mandoms que vous le recevez de li, si facez purvoier aucun homme qui bien le sache garder, et quant il serra dur ferm, le facez trerre, et ne mie devant ; et, apres ce, le facez bien assener et bien reclamer ; et quant il serra bien reclamez, le facez voler a frus, tant qu'il eit pris deux ou trois, et quant il serra ensi treet, assenez et reclamez, et qu'il eit volez a frus, et en eit pris deux ou trois, sicome est avant dit, le nous facez saver par voz lettres et par le dit Chapeleyn, issint que nous en puissoms comander outre nostre volunté.

Doné souz nostre privé seal a Roylee, le .xiij. jour Daugst, l'an de nostre regne .xxxiij.

17.

13 sept. 1305.

Accusé de réception.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roi Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlaunde et Ducs Daquitaine, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Nous avoms bien entendu ce que vous nous avez mandez par voz lettres, et sur ce avoms nous dit nostre a vostre Chapeleyn, portur de ces lettres, sicomme il vous porra dire.

Doné souz nostre privé seal a Eppynghethe, le .xiij. jour de Septembre, l'an de nostre regne .xxxiij.

18.

11 nov. 1305.

Ordre de faire parvenir du roi trois faucons et un lévrier.

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, Roi Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlaunde et Ducs Daquitaine, a nostre foial et loial Robert de Bavent, saluz.

Comme nous vous eoms mandez par noz autres lettres que vous nous envoiez hastivement un gentil Faucon et un Lanier

que vous avez volantz a heron, sicomme en noz dites lettres plus pleinement est contenuz, et nous eussiens obliez d'envoier a vous apres le dit faucon gentil et voz deux Laniers volantz a heron, vous prioms que meisme le faucon gentil et les deux Laniers avantditz nous enveez touz ensemble par aucun des voz qui bien les sache porter et exploiter, mais que ce ne soit Thomas vostre frere, ensemblement ove le Leverer dont nous vous avoms ausint priez. Et ce ne leissez en nule manere.

Doné souz nostre privé seal, a Certeseye, le .xj. jour de Novembre, l'an de nostre regne .xxxiij.

VOCABULAIRE.

(Abréviations : R.M. *Les Livres du Roy Modus et de la Royne Ratio* (éd. G. Tilander), S.A.T.F., 1932.
N.O.D. *New Oxford Dictionary.*)[1]

A. Termes de Vènerie.

1. Noms d'oiseaux.

Faucon heronier, let. 2 *et passim :* faucon pour la chasse du héron.
Faucon anier, let. 2 *et passim :* faucon qui vole au canard.
Faucon lanier, let. 4 *et passim :* genre de faucon, plus doux que le faucon ordinaire (R.M.).
Gerfauk (*gir-, gyr-, gier-*), let. 3 *et passim :* gerfaut.
Oustour, let. 3 *et passim :* autour.

2. Autres termes.

Affeitement, s. m., let. 7, dressage (N.O.D. *s.v.*).
Affeitier, v. tr., let. 4, 7, 10 *et passim :* apprivoiser ; *a. por la grue ;* let. 11, 13 : dresser au vol de la grue (R.M. et Lettré *s.v.* affaité).
Assener, v. tr., let. 16 : indiquer un but, lancer vers un but (N.O.D. *s.v.* assign, II, 11).
Batre a leure, let. 3 : battre des ailes (R.M. et N.O.D. *s.v.* beat, 12).
Baud, adj., let. 13, *faire b. un faucon :* lui donner de la hardiesse, le familiariser avec le fauconnier.
Dur ferm, adj., let. 16, *faucon d. f. :* endurci, qui a de l'endurance.
Entrer, let. 13, 14, *bien e. un faucon, faucon bien entrez et bien volant :* commencement du dressage (N.O.D. *s.v.* enter).
Esploit, s. m., let. 7 : emploi.

[1] Voir aussi *Le Livre du Faulcon*, Roxburghe Club (1817) et *Romania*, XIII, p. 505 ; XXXVI, p. 531.

Esploiter, v. tr., let. 10 *et passim* : employer, habituer ; *s'en e.* ; *ibid.* : s'en tirer.
Gentil, adj., let. 18 : *apprivoisé*.
Gruage, s. m., let. 12 : époque de la chasse à la grue.
Mue, s. fem., let. 13 : *mettre en m.* ; mettre en cage.
Reclamer, v. tr., let. 16 : faire revenir le faucon au poing ou au leurre.
Trainer, v. tr., let. 3, 5 *et passim* : dresser. *Treiner a heroun*, let. 3, 13 ; *t. a grue*, let. 3 ; *t. a pievol* let. 3 ; *t. a siege* ; *t. a volant* let. 13 : dresser au vol du héron, de la grue, de la pie ; dresser le faucon sur son perchoir (R.M. *s.v.* assiete) ; dresser à chasser tout oiseau.
Traire, let. 16 : *t.* un ostour : le dresser. L'ordre des différents points du dressage semble avoir été : *entrer, traire, assener, reclamer, voler a freux*.

B. Termes Généraux.

Achesun, s. fém., let. 1 : occasion, circonstance ; *par a. de ce que* = attendu que.
Appaez, pa. pa., let. 16 : récompensé.
Attacher, v. tr., let. 3 : saisir, réserver.
Brakoner, s. m., let. 3 : valet de chasse (Du C. *s.v. bracco*).
Ce que, pron. indéf., let. 5 : autant que.
Maupaez, pa. pa., let. 14 : mal récompensé.
Mengez, prés. subj., let. 1 : de mener.
Penibletez, s. fém., let. 7 : peine que l'on prend à faire quelque chose.
Respiter, v. tr., let. 7 : donner un répit à.
Sojorner, v. tr., let. 1 : reposer.
Soveaus, adv., let. 7 : au moins.
Suhed, s. m., let. 7 : *faire s.* à qqun, faire ce que quelqu'un désire.
Trier, v. tr., let. 3 : éprouver.

NOMS DE PERSONNES.

Bavent (Robert de), chaque lettre. Bauvent, let. 10. King's yeoman, tenant-in-chief de plusieurs fiefs, cf. *Patent Rolls, passim*.
Bavent (Thomas de), let. 3, 18 : frère du précédent.
Bavent (Yon de), let. 7 : oncle de Robert.
Bures (Robert de), let. 9 : vadlet ; mentionné assez fréquemment dans les *Patent Rolls*, en particulier comme juge, *P.R.* 1301-7, p. 94.
Copyn (Rauf), let. 13, 14 : fauconnier.
Drekenefford (Johan de), let. 10 : John de Drokenesford, keeper of the wardrobe, prébendier de Salisbury, etc.
Erlham (Thomas d'), let. 2 : vadlet.
Gaunt (Gilbert le), let. 5 : Gilbert de Gaunt (?), cf. *P.R.* 1301-7, p. 105.
Georgyn ; let. 2, 8, 14 : vadlet.
Hauville (Geffroy de), let. 6.
Hauvylle, let. 8.

Kyme (Phelipe de), let. 3, 11 : fréquemment mentionné ; reçoit un pardon pour homicides, etc., le 22 août 1304.

Oysel (Richard), let. 5 : escheator North of Trent ; bailiff de Holderness.

Perkyn Brakoner, let. 3 : valet de chasse.

Stapelton (Elys de), let. 7 : Elias de Stapleton, sénéchal du comte de Lancastre pour le comté de Lincoln.

Symon le Ffauconer, let. 13.

Trente (William), let. 5 : botillier ; il fut nommé butler (during good behaviour) le 14 nov. 1302.

Venour (Robert le), let. 16 : Ecclésiastique et juge.

NOMS DE LIEUX.

Bartone, let. 5 : Barton-on-Humber (Lincs.), en face de Hull.

Belteford, let. 7 : Belshford (Lincs.) ?

Berewike sur Twede, let. 2 : Berwick-on-Tweed.

Brustwyke, let. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 : Burstwick (Yorks.).

Certeseye, let. 18 : Chertsey (Surrey).

Dunfermelyn, let. 2 : Dunfermline (Fife).

Eppynghethe, let. 17 : Epping (Essex).

Estrevelin, let. 3 : Stirling.

Houdernesse, let. 5 : Holderness (Yorks.).

Hulle, let. 15 : Hull.

Lenn, let. 15 : Lynne, Lympne (Kent).

Navenby, let. 10 : Navenby (Lincs.).

Nicole, let. 8 : Lincoln.

Roylee, let. 16 : Rowley Regis (Staffs.).

Seint Botolf, let. 3, 5, 15 : Saint Botolph's (Essex).

Sleford, let. 11 : Sleaford (Lincs.).

Smerden, let. 15 : Smarden (Kent).

Westmouster, let. 1, 12, etc., Westminster.

NORTHUMBRIAN SEPARATISM IN 1065 AND 1066.

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THE great political crises of 1065 and 1066 should not, perhaps, be regarded simply as arising out of, or dominated by, the disruptive force of regionalism. The importance of this element in them is evident and has often been described; possibly it has been over-stressed. There were, it will be suggested below, both centripetal and centrifugal forces at work in England at this period; and probably the former was the stronger and more enduring force.[1] Chief amongst the latter was the famous or infamous separatism of the North. But this great and constant factor in medieval English history has not always been properly understood, least of all in the great crises under review.

The North has sometimes been considered loosely, in 1065 and 1066, — largely by virtue of the short-lived and unsubstantial connection under Edwin and Morcar—as consisting of both Northumbria and Mercia; whereas in truth the real political division in England in 1066 was still the Humber or the Trent, and Mercia was indissolubly connected with the South. No evidence has so far been produced, and no evidence is likely to be produced, in spite of the relationship of Edwin and Morcar, of any attempt of the Mercians to isolate their fortunes, in these years, from those of Wessex and London.[2] It is a mistake to read

[1] A more favourable estimate of Anglo-Saxon society on the eve of the Norman Conquest has recently been given by R. R. Darlington, in "The Last Phase of Anglo-Saxon History," in *History*, XXII (June, 1937), pp. 1-13. Cf. also my article, "Freeman and the Crisis of 1051," *ante*, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 368-388.

[2] It is perhaps true that the Danes of Lincoln "submitted with suspicious readiness to Swegn of Denmark when he made Gainsborough his headquarters" as late as 1014 (Stenton, "The Danes in England," in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XIII, 242); but Fraena Frithgist and Godwin had fought strenuously enough against them in 993, and Ulfkytel of East Anglia was one of their most

too much political significance into the very great social and economic differences between the Danelaw and Wessex.[1] It was quite possible, in eleventh-century England, for a real measure of political unity to exist alongside a bewildering variety of local customs and conditions. There are signs that, as far as Mercia at least was concerned, the groundwork for this unity had been securely established long before the end of the tenth century; and neither the disasters of the second Danish invasions nor the rivalry between the Earls in the eleventh century could undo the consequences flowing from this.[2]

Northern separatism, we must conclude, was Northumbrian separatism; and even this, it is probable, has been wrongly assessed, at least in the century preceding 1065. It has been claimed that for a century and a half the men of Northumbria persisted in a sullen antagonism to the political supremacy of

famous opponents. Much significance has been attached to the diffidence of King Edgar when enacting dooms for the Danish population shortly after 952, but the political significance of this should not be exaggerated. Edmund had already "legislated," in the interests of the Church, with the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury and York probably for North and South (Robertson, A. J., *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, p. 7; I, Edmund); the same is true of certain of Edgar's laws (*ibid.*, p. 21; II, Edgar); Ethelred and Cnut issued secular laws to both English and Danes (*ibid.*, pp. 65, 141, 147, 175). It is difficult to assess the political separatism of the Danes from the right, within these limits, to enjoy and administer their own laws. This was compatible with a considerable degree of political centralisation. After all, there was a Mercian (and probably a Northumbrian) law, as late as Henry I. And it should not be forgotten that when Edmund reconquered the shires between Watling Street and the Humber, he was regarded as a deliverer by its Danish inhabitants—a deliverer from the Northmen (Stenton, "The Danes," p. 242).

[1] For a description of these see F. M. Stenton, "The Danes in England," in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XIII, 203-246.

[2] The treaty of Olney shows that, only fifty years before the Conquest, ancient ideas of dividing England into two could be revived, under terrible stress. But those fifty years had been years of rapid change, in which national unity had become much more secure. The danger now was that of the ambition of the Earls acting within the framework of the national state. There was, in any case, no real parallel between the revival of the Alfredian traditions in Wessex in 1017, and the supposed defalcation of the North in 1066. Northumbria and Mercia did not desert Wessex in 1017; they were wrested away by the Danes. Edwin and Morcar are supposed to have fallen away, not under stress, but out of selfish ambition, even before the battle of Hastings had been fought, and when their defeat at Fulford had been gloriously avenged by Harold at Stamford Bridge.

Wessex[1]; but the evidence for this is not easy to find. It is true that a northern legend represents the sons of Ethelred the Unready as offering Northumbria to Olaf of Norway as the price of his assistance in their struggle with Cnut,[2] but the significance of this legend is not very clear. For Northumbria in the eleventh century, or indeed, for some time before, there was no real alternative to the political supremacy of Wessex. The balance of power in the North had, indeed, been decisively altered by the loss of Lothian[3]; after this it must have become increasingly evident that Northumbria could not alone withstand the pressure from the Scots. It is not surprising therefore, that, on the eve of the Norman Conquest, a Northumbrian writer could conclude a legal text with a prayer that the land might be one kingdom for ever.[4]

It has, indeed, been further asserted that the Northumbrians at first refused to accept Harold as king.[5] But no single writer, except William of Malmesbury (and that not in his *Gesta Regum*), records the striking fact of the Northumbrian refusal; though writers like William and Florence of Worcester were very hostile to his succession, and Orderic Vitalis goes so far as to assert that "potentiorum nonnulli fortiter obsistere parati a subjectione ejus omnino abstinuerunt."[6] Freeman thought that this described the refusal of the Northumbrians[7]; but there is no justification for taking it, as it stands, to refer to any regional opposition. The only direct assertion that the refusal of Harold was particularly by Northumbrians comes in the Life of Wulfstan by William of Malmesbury.[8] But this is not a very trust-

[1] Stenton, *William the Conqueror*, p. 9. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[3] Whether King Edgar gave Lothian as a gift or whether Eadulf Cudel was compelled to yield it, at a later date, in either case the transference was one of the great turning points in the history of Northumbria, tending to transform its relations with the South.

[4] Stenton, F. M., "The Danes in England," p. 241.

[5] Stenton, *William the Conqueror*, p. 171. The subject is fully discussed in Freeman's *N.C.*, III, 635-638 (2nd edition, 1875).

[6] *Hist. Eccles.*, ed. Prevost (Soc. de L'hist de Fr.), II, 119.

[7] *N. C.*, III, 637. It is Orderic, it must be remembered, who especially asserts the support which Edwin and Morcar gave to Harold.

[8] In *Anglia Sacra*, II, 253; Migne, *Patrologiae*, CLXXIX, 1750; quoted by Freeman, *N. C.*, III, 636.

worthy account. It portrays the exiled Tostig as the inspirer of the opposition; it represents Harold as overcoming this only through the influence of the saintly Wulfstan himself.[1] It looks more like hagiography than history. Against it there is the assertion of Orderic Vitalis that Edwin and Morcar were Harold's zealous supporters.[2] And there are the inherent probabilities of the case. Tostig in exile would seem to have ensured the allegiance of both Morcar and the Northumbrians to Harold. It was the latter, whatever his motives (these will be discussed below), who had negotiated the agreement at Northampton, in their favour, in 1065.

There is thus little more definite evidence of Northumbrian than there is of Mercian hostility to the West Saxon kings, or even to Harold in 1066. Strong regionalism is one thing, political isolationalism is another; and though the two might well, they do not necessarily, go together. What the Northumbrians aimed at, in their relations to the South in 1065 and 1066, will have to be ascertained from an examination of the facts, such as are available;[3] it is not to be discovered in the social and ecomonic peculiarities of the North, nor can it be deduced from any theory of a general and political Northumbrian hostility towards the rulers in the South.

The Northumbrian rising of 1065 is important both on its own account and, still more, as the prelude to the disasters of the following year.[4] How far it was occasioned by a straightforward hostility to a Southern magnate it is impossible to say. It is reasonable to argue that no such spontaneous rising would

[1] Wulfstan had, indeed, had an earlier connexion with York. This helped him to be of use to Harold, according to W. Hunt in *D.N.B.* But William's account is not even consistent in itself. It describes Tostig as re-converting the Northumbrians, after the labours of Wulfstan: "Et profecto perseverassent, nisi eos Tostinus *ut dixi*, averteret." But William has said no such thing unless in a reference to Tostig's armed invasion of the North in 1066; nor have we any other evidence that the Northumbrians persisted in any opposition.

[2] *Hist. Eccles*, ed. Prevost, II, 119.

[3] The crisis of 1051, also throwing light on the Northumbrian outlook, has been discussed, *ante*, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 368-388.

[4] It was discussed by Freeman, in some detail, in the *Norman Conquest* (3rd edition), 1877, II, 495-506, 711-716. Professor F. M. Stenton gives the best modern account in *William the Conqueror*, pp. 59-60.

have occurred against a descendant of Siward; on the other hand no contemporary source suggests this hostility as the cause of the rising; and the rising can be quite satisfactorily explained by the reasons the chroniclers set forth—by the personal vindictiveness and oppressiveness of Tostig, about which they are all agreed.[1]

One source[2] does indeed record, but only to reject, the rumour that Harold himself had a hand in bringing about the revolt, through jealousy of his brother's favour with the King. The rumour (almost if not quite incompatible with the theory of Northumbrian hostility to Harold's accession in 1066, though some historians seem to have accepted both) was so strong that Harold cleared himself by oath; but the writer of the *Vita Aeduuardi* thought that he was too ready to do this; and it is permissible to infer from his language that the scribe did not think the oath was necessary[3]; whilst in the earlier discussions of the revolt there is no record that the rumour was mentioned at all.[4] There is no other evidence of any sort to lend it support. The different versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, not all friendly to the house of Godwin, gave no hint of it; whilst, of the later writers, William of Malmesbury explained Harold's conduct by the fact that he "magis quietam patriae quam fratris commodum attenderet."[5] On the whole, Harold's conduct during the crisis, as far as it can be discerned, is in complete conformity with this. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, at least, represents him as working hard to reconcile Tostig and the rebels: "and earl Harold was there

[1] Cf. Plummer, I, 192 (Abingdon MS.): "ac eall hys eorldom hyne anrædlice for sóc. ⁊ ge utlagode. ⁊ ealle þa mid hym þe unlage rærdon. for þam þe [he] rypte God aerost. ⁊ ealle þa bestrypte þe he ofer mihte æt life ⁊ æt lande." Cf. *Vita Aeduuardi*, cited below; Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon*, I, 223.

[2] *Vita Aeduuardi Regis*, edited by H. R. Luard, in *Lives of Edward the Confessor* (R.S.), 1858.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 422, "sed ille citius ad sacramenta nimis (proh dolor) prodigus, hoc objectum sacramentis purgavit."

[4] The cause which was then accepted was Tostig's misrule. This seems to be a permissible inference from the account in the *Vita Aeduuardi* (p. 422). But Freeman thinks that Tostig may have "brought forward" the charge, apparently not as a result of any existing rumour.

[5] *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, edited by W. Stubbs (R.S.), I, 246.

and would work their reconciliation if he could, but he could not."[1] Afterwards, he probably advocated that the demand of the rebels should be conceded; but this is far from suggesting that he had fomented the rebellion; and he argued in common with the majority of the King's advisers and obviously strove to prevent war.[2] The ultimate decision to dismiss Tostig was made by Edward himself.[3] There seems to be no evidence for the view that the concessions to the demands of the rebels were only made by Harold after Edward had been incapacitated by illness. Both the *Vita* and Florence of Worcester inform us plainly that Edward's health began to fail *after*, and presumably partly as a result of, his failure to protect Tostig. Nor is there anything to suggest that Harold had not faithfully represented Edward throughout the crisis itself. Harold, we may conclude, did not incite the Northerners to rebel; but he did nothing to forfeit the possibility of their later support.

The importance of the factor of regionalism must be deduced from events during and after the actual revolt. First of these is the choice, by the rebels, of Morcar as their future earl. But it was not narrow regionalism which dictated this choice. Rather the reverse. Leaving aside the obvious dictates of policy, the choice in itself illustrates the fact that the time was gone when Northumbria could stand entirely alone. For good or ill, after they had obtained recognition of their choice, the rebels had bound Northumbria and Mercia closely together. It may be argued that this event merely expanded Northumbrian regionalism to include the Midlands, and revived the possibility of that division of England which had been recognized as late as 1017, in spite of the ravaging of the Northumbrians in the

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Canterbury), edited Thorpe, II, 163. Plummer, I, 192 (MS. C.): "wolde heora seht wyrcan gif he mihte. ac he na mihte."

[2] *Vita*, p. 423: "instabant quidam ferventem regis animum sedare, et ne expeditio procederet suadere."

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 423: "at Deo dilectus rex cum ducem suum tutare non posset, gratia sua multipliciter donatum moerens nimium quod in hanc impotentiam deciderit, a se dimisit." The King's illness began from the time when he found that the majority of his advisers opposed extreme measures against the Northumbrians, "Quo dolore decidens in morbum ab ea die usque in diem mortis suae aegrum trahebat animum." After this point, Florence of Worcester said, King Edward's health began gradually to fail; *Chronicon*, I, 224.

neighbourhood of Northampton.[1] This can only be properly discussed in relation to the events of 1066. But it can be stated at once that there is no real evidence of a new territorial unit including both the areas at any time after 1065—less indeed than before, for example in 1051. Edwin and Morcar naturally tended to act together in 1066; but William of Malmesbury thought that they intended retiring to Northumbria (apparently leaving Mercia to William) after Edgar's coronation. There was no attempt to co-ordinate the opposition of Northumbria and Mercia to William after 1066. It seems probable that—somewhat paradoxically—the election of Morcar as Earl in 1065 served to bind Northumbria still more closely, not to Mercia alone, but through Mercia to the South. Through Harold's marriage to Morcar's sister Ealdgyth, and his defence of the North against Tostig, subsequent events may well have seemed to restore, and perhaps more than restore, the growing political unity which had been temporarily shaken by the complete failure of the rule of a West-Saxon magnate in the North.

The second event is the Northumbrian advance towards the South. This, again, is far from illustrating the operation of Northern particularism alone; it also, though less obviously, shows the importance, perhaps the increasing importance, of the conception of a united England, operating even in the North. The Northumbrian rebels did not simply elect Morcar to be their earl or think that they could appoint him their earl without any consultation with or recognition from, the South[2]: the whole point of their advance to Northampton seems to have been to force an acceptance of Morcar upon the reluctant king. Thus, whilst at York they "senden æfter Morkere Aelfgares sune eorles.

[1] This does not suggest any community of interest. But of course the rebels had to live. And Godwin and Harold did as much in Wessex in 1052.

[2] On the whole this is Freeman's view, as quoted elsewhere, though in one place Freeman suggested that by declaring Tostig an outlaw the gathering at York perhaps "intended to claim the character of a lawful Gemót." Liebermann (*op. cit.*, p. 19, cf. also p. 65) believed that "the witan of Northumbria *in perfect autonomy* deposed their earl against the wish of the central government." It is hard to believe that the rebels believed themselves to have any constitutional right either to depose or to outlaw Tostig. Their subsequent acts do not give that impression.

ȝ gecuron hine heom to eorle," [1] subsequently, at Northampton, they prayed "that they might have Morkere for their earl." The Abingdon chronicle records them [2] as renouncing Tostig finally only at Northampton and/or Oxford—"they then took to them Morkere for earl." According to the *Vita Eduuardi*,[3] the rebels did not make Morcar earl at all, but only head and lord—"caput sibi et dominum faciunt ducis Alfgari filium juniorem." Simeon of Durham at this point makes a rare addition to Florence of Worcester's account of the assemblies at Northampton and Worcester and the outlawry of Tostig. After these things he goes on to record, "jussu regis Morkarus Northumbris est praeelectus comes." [4] It was something more than a mere recognition which was to be effected at Oxford. This assembly was an important expression of the tradition that "to depose and elect an Earl was a stretch of power beyond the constitutional authority of a local gemót." [5]

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Canterbury), edited Plummer, I, 190.

[2] Plummer, I, 192, "hig namon heom þa Morkere to eorle."

[3] *Lives of Edward the Confessor* (R.S.), p. 421. They declared, later on, "aut eundem ducem [Tostig] suum citius a se et a toto Anglicae regno amitteret, aut eos in commune hostes hostis ipse haberet."

[4] *Historia Regum*, edited by T. Arnold, II, 179. Florence of Worcester (*Chronicon*, II, 223; tr. Stevenson, p. 294) does not mention the "choice" of Morcar as Earl at the beginning of the rising: "After that, nearly all the men in his earldom assembled, and went to Northampton, to meet Harold, earl of the West Saxons, and others, whom the king, at Tostig's request, had despatched to restore peace between them."

[5] Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 494. But Freeman elsewhere maintains that the Northumbrians "elected" Morcar at York and advanced to Northampton led by their earl, *ibid.*, pp. 490-491. Similarly Hodgkin, *Political History*, p. 471, and, apparently, Liebermann, *National Assembly*, p. 19. Similarly, we must notice, the outlawry of Tostig seems to have been formerly declared at Oxford. The authorities are not unanimous on the point, but it is reasonable to infer it from the wording of the A.S. Chronicle (Abingdon version, Plummer, I, 192). There was, the writer says, a gemót at Northampton, and so at Oxford on 28th October. And Harold could not bring about a reconciliation, but, the chronicler says, all his earldom renounced and outlawed Tostig. Florence (*Chronicon*, I, 223) says explicitly that Tostig was expelled after 1st November. He seems to have got hold of an additional, and valuable, date here, and we have no reason to reject it. If, as the Peterborough and Worcester MSS. tell us (Plummer, I, 190, 191), the rebels had already declared *their* outlawry of Tostig at York, this is one more illustration of the fact that they did not regard the acts of a gathering of local magnates or soldiers as necessarily acceptable to the whole of the country.

This seems to be why, after the demands of the Northumbrians were conceded by Harold, in the name of the King, at Northampton (he " made known the same to them and gave his hand [and seal?] thereto "[1]) some, or all, of the rebels, more probably only a part,[2] continued to Oxford. It is true

[1] *A.S. Chronicle*, edited Thorpe, II, 163; Plummer, I, 193. MS. D (Worcester): " ⁊ kyðde heom þ ilce. ⁊ heom þ ahand sealde." MS. E (Peterborough): " ⁊ heom þet on hand sealdon " (*ibid.*, 192).

[2] This was the view of F. Baring in 1893 (*E.H.R.*, XIII, 1898, pp. 295-297), based on the evidence of wastage in Domesday, and probably that of Plummer (*Two Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, II, 252). It has not, however, been accepted by modern writers (cf. F. M. Stenton, *William the Conqueror*, p. 60). Mr. Baring's view is also supported, however, by the assertions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, to the effect that the rebel army penetrated as far as (and apparently no further than) Northampton. The Canterbury and Worcester versions are almost identical at this point (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (R.S.) II, 162; Plummer, I, 192-193). The Abingdon version says simply: " very shortly after, there was a great gemót at Northampton; and so at Oxford, on the day of St. Simon and St. Jude." Florence of Worcester, besides being a late authority, is not clear as to the details, especially as to whether all or part of the rebel host advanced from Northampton to Oxford (translated Stevenson, p. 294); and he seems to have got his dates wrong—probably a slip in following the Abingdon version of the Chronicle. William of Malmesbury is of no help on this point (*Gesta*, I, 343), nor even the important Symeon of Durham (*Historia Regum*, II, 178); Henry of Huntingdon does not mention an advance to Oxford (*Historia Anglorum*, p. 198); the St. Alban's tradition seems to have regarded the object of the rebel march south as being to make Edward confirm the election of Morcar (*Flores Historiarum*, I, 585). The only authority to set against the Canterbury and Worcester versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is the *Vita Eduuardi*, not quite so untrustworthy, perhaps, as Professor Bloch suggests (" La Vie de S. Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare," in *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. xli, 5-134; but more trustworthy, he thinks, for the events of 1065; p. 26). According to the *Vita* (p. 422), " conglomerati in infinitum numerum, more turbinis seu tempestatis, hostili expeditione perveniunt ad Axoneuorde oppidum, satis scilicet pervagati ultra mediae Angliae terminum." On the whole it seems possible to reconcile the sources best on the assumption that the main army remained behind at Northampton, but that a sufficient number advanced to Oxford to justify the remark of the Biographer, who was obviously impressed by the extent of the advance. It is just possible that the ravages around Northampton, noticed by Mr. Baring, were committed specially on Tostig's lands, or those of his supporters, but this was not the view of Horace Round in the *V.C.H.* for Northampton (1902), pp. 257-298. Nor do Earl Tostig's lands seem, in fact, to have been ravaged—*ibid.*, pp. 333a, 348b. It is most unlikely that the Northumbrians would make such fine distinctions (in that age) between Southerners: as late as 1461 we read " [The Northern men] with the Queen and Prince took their way towards the Southern parts . . . and in every place through which they came, on both sides of the Trent, but especially on this side, they robbed, despoiled, and devastated " (*Whethamstede's Register* (R.S.), pp. 388-392).

that this view presupposes some real difference between the assemblies at Northampton and Oxford, to account for the fact that the latter was summoned, and to explain the need for the presence of the Northern leaders there, a distinction which historians seem to have been reluctant to concede. It was implicit, it may be argued, in Freeman's assertion that the election of an earl was not possible in a local gemót; but Freeman did not draw out the logical consequences of this assertion; whilst both he and Liebermann tended to minimise the differences between the Witenagemot and other assemblies, particularly assemblies of the *here*.[1] It may indeed be true

[1] Freeman believed that "the army, as representing the nation, takes on itself in times of war the functions which belonged to the regular Gemót in times of peace" (*N.C.*, II, 105). But he makes little distinction between war and peace. Thus he discerned the military gemót in 1049, when there was an army, it is true, but no war, and at Gloucester, in 1051. He sees the military gemót also, possibly, at York in 1065 and Stamford Bridge in 1066. But there is no real evidence that any of these assemblies either acted as, or were regarded as, the Witenagemot. On the contrary, those at Gloucester and York were possibly superseded by other assemblies (cf. Freeman, *N.C.*, II, 106, 141; III, 422). Liebermann believed (*op. cit.*, p. 36) that "the old double sense revives in the *here* of the Denalague and the Anglo-Danish court." He distinguishes, however, between *here* and Witenagemot: "the *here* banishes Swen, but the witan confirm this outlawry; and his father is banished by the king in his council with the army's consent." The second of these episodes is commented on elsewhere; the first demands further consideration. There does not, unfortunately, seem to be sufficient evidence for this distinction between *here* and witan in 1049; on the other hand it is possible that Freeman has exaggerated the share of the *here* in the banishment of Swegen. Freeman believes (p. 105) that "it was doubtless the army, in the same sense [of a military gemót] which had just before [i.e. before the murder of Beorn] hearkened to, and finally rejected, his [Swegen's] petition for restoration of his estates." But this is not clear from the A.S. Chronicle accounts. There does not seem to have been any question of a formal trial; Swegen had, indeed, so far as we know, never been formally tried or outlawed for his offence against the Abbess of Leominster. He was now seeking a personal reconciliation with the king: "⁊ com Swegn eorl in mid ·vii· scipon to Bosenham. ⁊ griðode wið þone cyng. ⁊ behet man him þ he moste wurðe [beon] ælc þæra þinga þe he aér ahte" (Plummer, I, 168, MS. E. Peterborough). The Abingdon Chronicle (MS. C., *ibid.*, p. 168) agrees with this, though it is not so full, and so the Worcester version (*ibid.*, 169). The differences, not relevant to our immediate problem are well brought out by Plummer (II, 230-231). Neither Florence of Worcester nor William of Malmesbury have anything to add here. The accounts seem to agree, at least that Swegen petitioned Edward himself, for something which Edward could grant or withhold. According to the Peterborough chronicle quoted above, Edward had already promised him

that these differences were, even in the eleventh century very obscure. They could be, and were at times, either ignored or simply assumed by contemporaries. To the Abingdon writer each of the Northampton and Oxford assemblies was a " mycel gemot."[1] Yet there is some reason to believe that, in the reign of Edward the Confessor at least, some differences are to be

(directly or through intermediaries) the restoration of his lands, when objection was made by Harold and Beorn (Abingdon and Peterborough). There is no suggestion of any discussion by anybody else. This is intelligible. To get back all Swegen's lands would probably have needed the consent of the witan ; though, according to Liebermann, " the king by himself could revoke outlawry " (*op. cit.*, p. 70). But the preliminary decision was Edward's ; and since he ultimately decided to do nothing, no Witenagemot was required. Before the matter had gone so far Harold and Beorn had made their opposition clear, as they might easily have done, presumably having direct access to the king. On the other hand it is fairly certain (though we have only one A.S. Chronicle version for it) that the *here* declared Swegen *nithing* after Beorn's death (*Abingdon Chronicle*, Plummer, I, 171). But it is not so certain that " the outlawry and disgrace of Swegen were decreed " (*N.C.*, II, 106). Here again, it seems likely that Freeman extended the scope of the action performed by the *here*. It is, indeed, quite conceivable that an army could declare a man *nithing*, but would hesitate to pass a formal " sentence " (*N.C.*, 106) of outlawry on him. There does not seem to have been any need, in this case. Swegen was already, in fact, an outlaw (cf. J. Goebel on outlawry, in *Felony and Misdemeanor*, pp. 418-423), and public opinion kept him one. There seems to be no clear evidence, in these instances, of the *here* acting as Witenagemot in the reign of Edward the Confessor. Perhaps the differences between the two assemblies were more clearly recognized than Freeman would allow. It seems permissible to attach some importance to these differences in attempting to understand the crisis of 1065.

The relationship of army and witan at an earlier period is outside the province of this discussion. We must notice, however, Liebermann's conclusion that : " When the army was gathered with its leaders, king, bishops, ealdormen, king's thanes and reeves, these noblemen, though summoned for the military purpose only, might constitute a witenagemot, legislating, settling suits, or conveying bookland " (*op. cit.*, p. 43). He cites charters conceded " in hoste " (825), or " in expeditione " (882), (Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, nos. 389, 390, 550 ; I, 540, 541-542, II, 171) ; they were apparently conceded in the presence of bishops, or archbishop and bishop, as well as of the secular magnates. Indeed, no " duces " were amongst the witnesses of 825. It is, of course, evident that we have here, on both occasions, a gathering which was primarily one of the army. But it was also, we may venture to suggest, something more : " Ecgberto rege una cum praedicto episcopo Wigthegno. caeterisque consiliariis quorum nomina subter adnexa notantur." The identity of witan and army is not suggested by Liebermann in *Glossar*, under *Witan*.

[1] Plummer, I, 192.

discerned,[1] and were in fact recognized by contemporaries on two important occasions at least. In 1051 the trial of Godwin was deferred from Gloucester to what must at least have been regarded as a more regular meeting of the witan in London[2]; and it seems to be arguable that a precisely similar transference took place from Northampton to Oxford in 1065.

Thus the famous revolt against Tostig was indeed a local insurrection, followed by an invasion and ravaging of the Midlands; but the rebels were apparently fully conscious of the strong political bonds which bound them to the rest of England. Behind the localism of 1065 there emerges the broader nationalism expressed by the Witenagemot as being distinct from and distinguished from all other assemblies, representative, however imperfectly, of national as distinct from local interests, of political as distinct from military considerations, of the constitutional and legal as opposed to the way of rebellion and force—the *tractatus de negotiis regis et regni* of a later age. Behind the simple destructiveness of the rising, there may perhaps be dimly discerned an awareness of "constitutional" procedure in a community which had not yet embraced the tradition of feudal revolt. At any rate, Northumbrian isolationism in 1065 seems, on closer examination, to be by no means the simple destructive movement that is frequently assumed.

The same is still more true of its operation in the following

[1] It is worth noticing perhaps that there was no attempt made to describe the assembly at Bretford as a Witenagemot. Freeman, indeed, thinks that "it doubtless professed to be a Witenagemót of the whole realm" (*N.C.*, II, 499), but there seems to be nothing to support the assertion. His further claim that "it could hardly have been more than a meeting of the king's immediate counsellors, or at most of the local Witan of Wessex" is not borne out by the only authority on the subject, the *Vita Aeduuardi*, which says that there was a *consilium* "accitis undique regni primatibus" (p. 422). *Consilium* may, but does not necessarily, mean Witenagemot, as used in this context.

[2] Liebermann (*op. cit.*, p. 50) thought that the assemblies at Gloucester and London in 1051 were the same Witenagemot. It seems more probable that the Witenagemot at London was called because of (amongst other reasons) some deficiency of the assembly at Gloucester. It is doubtful if anything resembling a Witenagemot met at Gloucester. The source which represents it as meeting and passing resolutions (the Canterbury MS. of the A.S. Chronicle) is very suspect; see "Freeman and the Crisis of 1051" cited above. The Worcester MS. does not talk of a Witenagemot at Gloucester, but only at London.

year. Here, the problem is essentially that of the conduct of Edwin and Morcar immediately before and after the battle of Hastings. Freeman made the two brothers "keep back from the war" against William, preoccupied with "their darling scheme of a divided kingdom,"[1] and his reconstruction of events seems to have been substantially accepted by later writers. Yet it involves some very dubious speculations as to the characters and motives of Edwin and Morcar. The two earls are represented as seeking either their own elevation to the throne, or alternatively, a division of England.[2] But neither of these views seems to be beyond question; whilst some historians seem to have been tempted to hold both at once. As so often in the confusion of this period, the issue resolves itself, in the end, into a question of how far it is possible to accept the later, more detailed embroideries of writers like William of Malmesbury or Florence of Worcester, against the bald, sometimes cryptic, assertions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[3] The various redactions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle have nothing to say against Edwin and Morcar. The theory of Northern separatism in 1066 depends entirely on the assertions of William of Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester. Yet these writers are notoriously untrustworthy on some of the events of 1066. Even Freeman found Florence's various statements hard to reconcile with each other, whilst William, in spite of the general high level of his work, has some things to say, at this point,

[1] *N.C.*, III, 423-424; cf. "Treason of Edwin and Morcar," *ibid.*, p. 531. The action, if not the motive, of the earls, seems to be generally accepted; F. M. Stenton, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193; Corbett, *C.M.H.*, V, 501, who thinks that the earls were secretly intriguing to prevent the crowning of Edgar, and "soon retired to their estates without summoning their men to fight for him." Oman, *Art of War* (2nd edition), I, 151, talks of the "slack or treacherous earls."

[2] J. Corbett in the *C.M.H.*, V, 501, regards it as one more example of separatism: "once more it was clearly shown that the English race had as yet developed no true national feeling." Professor Stenton believes that there can be little doubt that the brothers intended a partition of the kingdom after Hastings (*op. cit.*, p. 213).

[3] Cf. *N.C.*, III, 424, n. 1. Freeman cites Florence of Worcester—"comites Edwinus et Morkarus, *qui se cum suis certamini subtraxere* "—*Chronicon*, I, 228. "These are words," he says, "which no ingenuity can get over." He does not seem to envisage the possibility that, on this point, Florence was simply unfair, or misinformed.

which have never been believed. If it is dangerous to argue from the silence of the Chronicle, it is equally dangerous to accept without the most careful scrutiny the assertions of two later writers such as these.

The first assertion which has been generally accepted, is that of Florence of Worcester, to the effect that Edwin and Morcar "withdrew themselves and their men from the conflict." Florence almost, though not quite, asserts that this was before the battle of Hastings. He has been variously interpreted. Professor Stenton quotes Florence, but points out that the brothers had, in any case, insufficient time to join Harold at Hastings.[1] Freeman described them as being "on their tardy march, waiting to see what course events would take."[2] But, if the brothers had no time to get to Hastings, what is there to support Florence's assertion that they "withdrew from the conflict"? All we know suggests a different attitude on their part. The sheriff Marleswegen was given command in the North by Harold, when he marched to meet William[3]; William of Malmesbury himself tells us that Edwin and Morcar were directed to raise the levies of the North.[4] The brothers were actually in London, William further informs us, when they heard of Harold's death. It is true that this conflicts with Florence of Worcester, who says that they went to London on receiving this news; but we have no means of deciding (as Freeman does) between the two. In any case, we may conclude, they were present in London shortly after the battle, and were probably on their way when it was fought. The facts, such as they are, do not lend any support to Florence of Worcester's assertion, and do not reconcile much better with Freeman's modified view.

At this point we should consider another relevant question. Even though not all historians might accept Florence of Worcester's assertion without question, nevertheless there is a tendency to build on it a most important theory with regard to the battle of Hastings itself. It is argued, or sometimes assumed,

[1] *William the Conqueror*, p. 192. [2] *N.C.*, III, 524.
[3] Gaimar, *Lestorie des Engles* (R.S.), p. 222.
[4] *Gesta Regum*, II, 311.

that the treachery or selfishness of Edwin and Morcar was a major factor in determining Harold to give battle at Hastings when he did. He hastened on the battle because he had nothing to gain, and much to fear, from delay.[1] This, it must be strongly stated, is pure speculation ; attractive though it may be as a hypothesis, there is scarcely a single relevant piece of evidence which can be brought in its support. Not even William of Malmesbury or Florence of Worcester will go so far as this.

William of Malmesbury said, more than once, that Harold hastened on the engagement through an over-confidence in victory.[2] The chronicler of Abingdon agrees that it was through too great a faith in his strength.[3] Florence of Worcester implied, if he did not state, the same motives as influencing Harold. No writer suggests that he despaired of further support. On the contrary, Florence clearly believed that this would have been forthcoming—" one half of his army had not yet arrived." [4] In this he is supported by the Peterborough (Canterbury) Chronicle : Harold fought, the writer says,[5] " before his army had all come." If there is any truth at all in the tradition that

[1] Cf. Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 193 : " And then there remains the fact that the loyalty of Mercia and Northumbria was at least doubtful ; delay on Harold's part might only mean that Edwin and Morcar with their forces would have time to come over effectively to William's side."

[2] *Gesta Regum*, I, 281 ; II, 298, 300, and finally, 311 : " Tunc Edwinus et Morcardus, Haroldo jubente, manubiales praedes Londoniam tulere ; nam ipse ad Hastingensem pugnam festinabat, unde jam partam victoriam falso praesagus sompniabat." Harold had alienated support, William believes, but only by forcing himself on the English and (p. 300) by refusing to share out the spoils of Stamford Bridge. William does not suggest (rather the reverse) that it was the Northumbrians who withheld support. Similarly Orderic Vitalis, in *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in Migne's *Patrologiae*, CLXXXVIII, cols. 297-298 ; edited Prevost, II, 146.

[3] *Chronicon Mon. de Abingdon* (R.S.), edited by J. Stevenson, I, 483 : " suis nimium viribus fidens . . . aggressus comitem . . . itaque in bello corruens, tam ipse quam cuncti ejus socii secum interiere."

[4] Edited by B. Thorpe, I, 227 : " et licet de tota Anglia fortiores quosque in proeliis duobus bene sciret jam cecidisse, mediamque partem sui exercitus nondum convenisse, quam citius tamen potuit, in Suth-Saxonia suis hostibus occurrere non formidavit, et novem miliariis ab Heastinga, ubi sibi castellum firmaverant, priusquam tertia pars sui exercitus ordinaretur . . . cum eis proelium commisit."

[5] Plummer, I, 198: "Harold *com* Norðan ⁊ *him* wiþ feaht eár þan þe his here come eall."

Gyrth advised delay,[1] at least one member of Harold's family did not despair of support.

The assumption, indeed, that Harold brought on the engagement because he had nothing to gain by delay, is based on a further assumption which is not, with the existing evidence, entirely capable of proof. This is, that it was by Harold's intention and through his deliberate tactics, that the engagement was brought about on 14th October. "The position," Professor Stenton argues, "was undoubtedly chosen by Harold with the object of forcing his enemy to an immediate battle."[2] Now there is a great deal of evidence that, as Mr. Corbett concluded, Harold was "in no mood to remain on the defensive"[3] in face of William's invasion. "He did not hesitate," Florence of Worcester says, "to advance with all speed into South Saxony against his enemies."[4] It was easy for the generation which followed,[5] and it has been easy ever since, to construe his actions as a simple and immediate attack. Yet, here again, we are in danger of elevating conjecture and hypothesis into the rank of evidence. It is hard to speak with any confidence as to Harold's intentions. And what slight evidence there is in the facts at our disposal leaves the question very open. One fact is that Harold chose a very strong position which might have seemed, in his eyes, so formidable that William would hesitate some time before he attacked. It is true that the position was narrow and cramped, and did not invite a long stay; yet even a few days'

[1] *Liber Monasterii de Hyda* (R.S.), p. 293, Appendix A—*Chronicon Monasterii de Hyda.*

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 194-195. Freeman, N.C., III, 443, assumes that Harold "fixed a day for the battle," presumably 14th October. He believed (p. 448) that "immediate battle was absolutely inevitable on both sides."

[3] *C.M.H.*, V, 500.

[4] *Chronicon*, edited B. Thorpe, I, 227; cf. *Chronicon Monasterii de Hyda*, in *Liber Monasterii de Hyda* (R.S.), p. 293, "Mox ira efferatus moraeque impatiens."

[5] Perhaps the views of Orderic Vitalis are as interesting as any (*Hist. Eccles.*, col. 297): "Nocturno siquidem seu repentino incursu minus cautos opprimere cogitabat." Orderic seems to think that Harold expected to retain the initiative. Orderic even adds the detail that Harold sent ships to cut off William's retreat (cf. Guy of Amiens, *De Bello Hasting. Carmen*, ed. H. Petrie and John Sharpe, p. 862). His narrative certainly gives the impression that Harold may not have expected an immediate attack.

delay might have made all the difference to the forces he controlled. What he wanted was trained men to replace the hastily gathered levies who formed a part of his host. It is very curious —if Florence of Worcester is right—that many Englishmen retired from his ranks simply because—and this is the specific reason Florence gives [1]—they were drawn up in a narrow space; curious, that is, if they expected an engagement on the following day. Harold did not fortify his position; but he was given no time.[2] He may have intended to do so. Finally, and most important of all, our most reliable informants seem to be agreed on one point which it is not easy to over-stress. William, not Harold, attacked; and he attacked before the latter was prepared: "Wyllelm him com ongean on unwear aer his folc gefylced waere." [3] Seven (or nine) [4] miles was a good distance from which to challenge an immediate engagement, from a strongly defensible post. We cannot leave out of account the hypothesis that Harold's rashness was in venturing so near such a redoubtable enemy without his full strength, and that William attacked so precipitously precisely because it was he and not Harold who had nothing whatever to gain by delay. At all events, the details of Harold's strategy lend very dubious support to the theory that it was greatly influenced by any fear of the disloyalty of the North.

When we come to the events following the battle of Hastings, the theory of Northern disloyalty has even more questionable support. Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury are greatly at variance as to the conduct of the Northern earls; and Freeman's dismissal of their differences as "apparent discrepancies" [5] not only illustrates his belief that he could combine the most discordant sources, but also (apparently)

[1] *Chronicon*, I, 227. Harold, Florence says, did not hesitate to give battle on 22nd October, "sed quia arto in loco constituti fuerant Angli, de acie se multi subtraxere, et cum eo perpauci constantes corde remansere: ab hora tamen diei tertia usque noctis crepusculum suis adversariis restitit fortissime . . ."

[2] Professor Oman points this out in *Art of War* (2nd edition), p. 154. There is no need to give references, here, to the extensive literature on this point. The latest writers are Plummer, *op. cit.*, II, 256-257; Oman, *Art of War* (2nd edition), pp. 154-155; Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

[3] Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, 199.

[4] Florence of Worcester, I, 227.

[5] *N.C.*, III, 527, n. 3.

his resolute determination not to discredit the story of the treachery of the North.[1] At this juncture William betrays considerable ignorance. He does not believe that Edgar was actually elected to succeed Harold. He says that the brothers withdrew to the North before the time of the election[2]; Florence implies that they withdrew afterwards,[3] and, in this particular detail, is almost unquestionably right. It is William alone who ventures the view that, in withdrawing, the brothers believed William would not molest them in Northumbria. It is quite evident that this assertion, coming from such a late authority, is very poor evidence as to the motives and beliefs of Edwin and Morcar at this critical time.

We have seen that Edwin and Morcar were in London (presumably with the host they had gathered) at the time of, or shortly after, the battle of Hastings. Most historians are agreed that there they took part in the election of Edgar to be king,[4] but that, disgusted at the rejection of their own claims to election, they then retired to Northumbria, feeling that William would leave them intact, and pursuing "their darling scheme of a divided kingdom," which had probably been for some period in the back of their minds.[5] When the election occurred we do not know; possibly early in November.[6] There is no

[1] He defends William of Malmesbury by saying that men hardly knew how to describe an election which was followed by an abdication of the king-elect before the day of coronation came. But this did not justify William in saying that Edgar was not elected. As Freeman himself says, "Young Edgar was regularly elected king."

[2] *Gesta Regum*, II, 307: "Edwinus et Morcardus, amplae spei fratres, apud Londoniam audito interitus Haroldi nuntio, urbanos sollicitaverant ut alterutrum in regnum sublevarent; quod frustra conati, Northanhimbriam discesserant, ex suo conjectantes ingenio nunquam illuc Willelmum esse venturum. Ceteri proceres Edgarum eligerent si episcopos assertores haberent; sed . . . nec illud quidem effectum."

[3] *Chronicon*, I, 228. But cf. n. 5 below.

[4] Plummer, I, 199: "Aldred arceb ȝ seo burh waru on Lundene. woldon habban þa Eadgar cild to kynge, eall swa him wel ge cynde waes; ȝ Eadwine. ȝ Morkere. him beheton þ hi mid him feohtan woldon." There is little doubt that the earls shared in the election; see Freeman, *N.C.*, III, 527; cf. Orderic Vitalis, ed. Prevost, II, 154.

[5] *N.C.*, III, 423-424; Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

[6] It is assumed above that Edgar *was* elected, but it is curious that the language of the A.S. Chronicle and of Florence of Worcester is so vague; see above,

support in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for either William's or Florence's version of the departure of the earls, and one incident at least is difficult to reconcile with the departure; that, namely, of their submission, with the rest of the magnates, to William at Berkhampstead early in December. It is possible, but not very likely, that the brothers went North in November and immediately returned to make their submission to William, when he advanced on London. It was the magnates who had concentrated on London who seem to have submitted, when the city was cut off from the North.

This is so evident that, though Florence of Worcester accepted the Chronicle version,[1] William of Malmesbury omitted the incident altogether, from his story,[2] and Freeman felt compelled to omit Edwin and Morcar from the list of those who submitted in December, preferring to make them submit at Barking, after the coronation, on the authority of William of Poitiers[3]: "For once," he says, "I venture to set aside the authority of the Chronicles. I do not think that Eadwine and Morkere could have been at Berkhampstead."[4] Yet it is hard to accept a simple arbitrary preference for William, as against the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester combined.[5] Nor is it very convincing to argue that William "is

and *Chronicon*, I, 228: "Aldredus . . . et iidem comites . . . clitonem Eadgarum . . . in regem levare voluere." It is probably because, as Freeman points out, he was only designated, not crowned. Orderic Vitalis has no doubts on the subject; *Hist. Eccles.*, col. 300; edited Prevost, II, 154.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 228. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 307.

[3] Migne, *Patrologiæ Latina*, t. 149, col. 1262: "Egressus e Lundonia, dies aliquot in propinquo loco morabatur Bercingis, dum firmamenta quaedam in urbe contra mobilitatem ingentis ac feri populi perficerentur . . . Ibi veniunt ad obsequium ejus Eduinus et Morcardus, . . . Algardi illius nominatissimi filii, deprecantur veniam, si qua in se contra eum senserant, tradunt se cunctaque sua ejus clementiae; item alii complures nobiles et opibus ampli."

[4] *N.C.*, III, 547, 794. He discusses the point at length, *ibid.*, 794-795. His interpretation is generally accepted; F. M. Stenton, *op. cit.*, pp. 221, 227; H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, p. 9; W. J. Corbett, in *C.M.H.*, V, 501-502.

[5] Professor Stenton unfortunately lends the weight of his great authority to Freeman at this point: "William of Poitiers, whose authority is preferable on a point of this kind" (*op. cit.*, p. 222). Yet it is hard to see why this should be so. Plummer plainly disagreed; *op. cit.*, II, 257.

not likely to have cut the Berkhampstead mission into two, or to have imagined a submission which did not take place." There is no more reason why the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle should be in error at this point.

When William of Malmesbury says that the Northern earls left London before Edgar's election he was wrong. When Florence of Worcester says that "while numbers were preparing to go out and fight, the earls withdrew their assistance and returned home with their army" (despite the fact that, as he says, they were present at Berkhampstead), he may have been correct, though this must be a matter of very grave doubt. When William says that they did this in the belief that William would never pursue them into Northumbria, he is interpreting motives, possibly giving scope to his bias, in any case indulging in speculation, on a point concerning which he can have had no intimate knowledge. We have every reason to distrust him at this juncture; and the facts, such as are available, lend him no support. Edwin and Morcar made a prompt submission to William, without waiting for any move from him against the North. They made this submission, so far as we can judge, in harmony with, and at the same time as, all the other surviving leaders of the English nation; if they betrayed the English leaders in November, by December they had been received once more into the fold! The whole story of their betrayal and of their hopes must remain open to the suspicion that it is the product of the rationalizing imagination of two writers, wise after the event, who found the readiest explanation of the collapse of the English resistance in this theory of treachery and division in the English ranks. Perhaps they half-consciously preferred this to the other obvious explanation, that the English opposition was paralysed by the lack of a clear-cut hostility to William himself.[1] It is not necessary to have recourse to a theory of separatism along with military weakness to explain either the failure of Harold at Hastings or the English defection

[1] There may be truth in the picture painted by H. W. C. Davies in *England under the Normans and Angevins*, p. 8, relying upon Guy of Amiens, *De Bello Hasting. Carmen*, in H. Petrie and J. Sharpe, *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, pp. 869-870.

from Edgar. A theory lies obvious and ready to hand in the strength of the personal claims (as Edward's rightful heir) and qualities of William himself. Unfortunately for Florence and William it entailed a necessary corollary, the story of the great subsequent betrayal by William, as the price he owed his supporters, of those leaders of the English nation who had been attracted by his claims.

We may perhaps summarize as follows. Freeman and those who have followed him have started from an assumption of Northern separatism in 1066, a separatism which was, indeed, very real, but which was being met, already in the eleventh century, by a feeling of the necessary unity of England. Both forces, and not the one only, it has been suggested above, are evident in the Northern revolt of 1065. Indeed the interlude of Tostig's rule in Northumbria, despite its tragic end, shows the expanding power of the second conception; it suggests a growing unity before 1066, which the events of the Conquest and the harrying of the North did not expedite quite as much as is often supposed. The alliance of Northumbria and Mercia through Edwin and Morcar, the very close contact of the brothers with Harold, and the battle of Stamford Bridge might have been, under happier circumstances — perhaps were in any case—landmarks in the process of dissolving the isolation of the North. We may argue that, when the catastrophe of William's invasion occurred, this process had only just begun, so that it was natural for Edwin and Morcar to betray the South by withdrawing to their own lands; or we may argue that the idea of unity was so far established that neither the brothers nor William could conceive a conquest which would stop short at the boundary of 1017 which had only been accepted by a process of exhaustion. There is, indeed, much to be said on both sides; so much that we cannot, with Freeman, simply assume the former as the basis for our interpretation of events. We have to weigh the evidence very carefully indeed; and on the whole it seems to oppose rather than support the general interpretation which Freeman set forth. Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury on whom Freeman relied had clearly neither a first-hand nor intimate knowledge of events in 1066.

Their interpretation was both natural and reasonable; but it is still a questionable one, and it receives very little support from such facts as we can gather elsewhere.

It is, indeed, impossible, from the facts at our disposal, to show that Edwin and Morcar betrayed Harold before the battle of Hastings. All we know is that they followed quickly behind him to the South. They then joined the other leaders of the English in electing Edgar to be their king; afterwards, on the failure to organize an effective opposition,[1] they, with the rest, transferred their allegiance to William. These seem to be the most certain facts. As to their interpretation, the simplest and most obvious interpretation would seem to be preferable; and this is strongly supported by the absence of any accusation against the Earls in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle itself. Edwin and Morcar, we must conclude, like many other Englishmen, had no great preference, as between Harold and William, for the former as their ruler in 1066.[2] Having given him their allegiance, they supported him adequately, if not enthusiastically until his death. In the first reaction of the news of Hastings they indulged in the gesture of electing Edgar, but they quickly repented of this in the face of William's determined advance. Their heart was not in the struggle.[3] Perhaps it never would have been, if William the Conqueror had proved a second Cnut.

It seems safer, until more evidence is forthcoming, to cling to the conception of opposing forces in eleventh-century England, centrifugal and centripetal, fairly evenly matched. William the Conqueror certainly helped to give victory to the latter. But on the one hand it was a victory not quite so complete as is sometimes thought—the long and fascinating story of Northumbrian

[1] Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, 199-200 (MS. D: Worcester).

[2] Cf. William of Malmesbury, II, 297: "Anglia dubio favore nutabat, cui se rectori committeret incerta, an Haraldo, an Willelmo, an Edgaro."

[3] This may be one explanation of the bitter words of the Worcester scribe, cited above: "ac swa hit æfre forðlicor beon sceolde. swa wearð hit fram dæge to dæge lætre ȝ wyrre"; Plummer, I, 199-200. William of Malmesbury says that the English could have resisted still after Hastings, if they could have agreed together. William implies that the dissension was due to Edwin's and Morcar's ambitions for the throne; but surely the most important difference of opinion must have been as to whether or not William ought to be resisted further; *Gesta Regum*, II, 307; Freeman, *N.C.*, III, 531.

regionalism, for instance, after 1066, has yet to be worked out; on the other, his achievement was based essentially on the same traditions of monarchy which supported Harold. Nor were his difficulties very much less. It is sometimes forgotten that the Conquest was a triumph for the French magnates as well as for the Norman duke. We have no certain criteria for judging that Harold would have fallen very far short of his rival if he had triumphed at Hastings. At least there is no reason to believe that the weaknesses of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy itself, or more particularly the strength of the regionalism which opposed it, was actually responsible for the failure of the English to withstand William in 1066.

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